CYBELE AND ATTIS

THE MYTH AND THE CULT

M. J. VERMASEREN

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Contents

Preface 7

Introduction : The Earth Goddess 9

1 Cybele in Asia Minor and Greece 13

Kubaba-Cybele, Mother of Gods, Men, Mountains and Lions 13
Early Forms of Worship (6000–600 BC) 16
Kubaba-Cybele: Her Name 21
The Cult in Asia Minor during Graeco-Roman Times 24
Cybele in Athens 32
Cybele in the Rest of Greece 36

2 Cybele in Rome, Italy and Sicily 38

Cybele's Advent in Rome 38
The Metroon on the Palatine 41
Other Sacred Buildings of Cybele in Rome 43
The Phrygianum on the Vatican Hill 45
The Goddess of the Circus Maximus 51
The 'Hypogaeum' near the Porta Maggiore 55
Rome – Almo – Via Appia 57
The Campus Magnae Matris in Ostia 60
Cybele in the Rest of Italy and Sicily 63

3 Cybele in Art, Mythology and Literature 71

Cybele in the Plastic Arts 71
Cybele and Greek Mythology 76
Cybele and Other Divinities 79
Cybele and Literature 81

4 Attis in Mythology and Art 88

The Legend of Attis 88
Attis in the Plastic Arts 93

5 Cult and Festivals 96

The Galli and the Archigallus 96
The 'Taurobolium' and the 'Criobolium' 101
Devotees and Their Functions 107
Festivals in Asia Minor and Greece 110
The March Festivals in Rome in Honour of Attis 113
The Megalensia in Rome 124

6 Cybele in the Provinces of the Roman Empire 126

Cybele in Egypt 126
Cybele in North Africa 128
Cybele in Spain 130
Cybele in Gaul 131
Cybele in Britain 138
Cybele in Germany 140
Cybele in the Danubian Provinces 141

The Plates 145

7 Epilogue 177

Cybele, the Emperors and Christianity 177

Glossary 183

Abbreviations 184

Select Bibliography 185

Notes 186

List of Illustrations 217

Illustration Credits 220

Index 221

Preface

Ever since man has walked the earth the mystery of his origin, life and death has provoked endless questions. Various solutions have been sought and offered at many times and in many places. Although the profound significance of these three phases of existence has been explained time and again, for many it has remained shrouded in darkness. According to the leaders of the mystery cults in antiquity, this is because many are called, but only few become Bacchants. The claim, derived from the Dionysus cult, is also made by other secret societies. Only those who belong to an exclusive group and have been received into it by way of an initiation can ever hope to unravel life's mysteries. Even the deities who were worshipped in these cults (Demeter – Isis – Mithras – Dionysus – Cybele) were thought once to have passed through the maze of life, emerging triumphantly from the labyrinth after long and tortuous wanderings. Solely by careful scrutiny and imitation of their life-stories, which were recorded in myth, could the faithful ever hope to fathom the secrets of life and death. In some cases these were revealed to the followers by the deity in person. With complete dedication, by dint of serious study and abstention from or consumption of certain kinds of meat and drink, the faithful could sometimes acquire, during their life on earth, the privilege of beholding their heavenly protector. In this way they were given not only understanding of the meaning of earthly existence, but could also gain knowledge of the divine.

It is now more than sixty years since Henri Graillot published his masterpiece[1] on the Cybele cult. On the strength of the then known documents from antiquity he drew an unmatched picture of the Great Goddess. Since that time numerous excavations have brought to light a wealth of new information, most of which can now be dated more accurately. I hope soon to complete for publication a *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, in which for the first time the hundreds of widely divergent monuments of Asia Minor and of the Greek and Roman worlds will be recorded.

The primary aim of the present book is to give both an overall picture of the more recent material and an impression of the predominant features of the Goddess as she was conceived in various epochs. These periods, running between 6000 BC and AD 400, are disconnected, yet there is apparent continuity. This survey is not intended to instil into the reader any personal opinions of the author, but aims at presenting, objectively, as many as possible of the different points of view of a number of scholars on this subject. The main text has been written for the general reader, the notes

supplying the essential references, where the specialist will find what he needs. A large selection of illustrations elucidates the subject matter. For these we are indebted to many public and private art collections, and to innumerable friends.

I am most grateful to Professor H. H. Scullard for his constructive suggestions, to the publishers, and nearer home to Miss Margreet B. de Boer, Mr Joop J. V. M. Derksen, and last but not least to my wife Maria E. C. Vermaseren-van Haaren for their dedicated assistance and interest. The numerous line drawings and maps are the result of the devoted and patient work of Mrs F. E. Derksen-Janssens. Mr A. M. H. Lemmers, of the European School at Mol, Belgium, has managed to retain the spirit of the Dutch original by his careful and skilful translation.

Amsterdam, 1976 M. J. VERMASEREN

Introduction

The Earth Goddess

Throughout the Mediterranean area in antiquity the earth was regarded as a goddess and worshipped as such. Elements of the cosmos, such as air and water, and the Underworld were assigned to gods, but the earth and its crust, burned by the sun (cf. *torrēre – terra* – toast), belonged to the domain of a goddess.[2] The Greek gods, such as Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, were divine rulers and kings of the territories in their charge. However the Goddess, Gaia, Ga, Rhea or Hera as she was called by the Greeks, was not primarily a queen, but the revered Mother Earth.[3] Her divine authority did not reside in her power to command, but in her mysterious gift of being able continually to create new beings.[4] Prehistoric art had already depicted this Goddess – in a seated or standing posture – heavily emphasizing her opulent physique and typically female features, thus stressing her fertility.

In the civilizations of Asia Minor, Crete and the early Greek mainland the Goddess appeared everywhere in the form of the Great Mother, who was worshipped preferably in caves. Two aspects received equal attention. First, she became the spouse of the king of the heavens and the mountains,[5] as a result of which she gradually changed into a queen; she became Mother of the Gods, and in many artistic representations she is found depicted as a sovereign, standing in all her majesty on the crest of a hill (fig. 1). Secondly, from being Mother of the Gods she also became the Mother of Men, since they had sprung from the earth, while at the same time she began to be regarded as the Mother of the Beasts. The belief in these primeval functions of the Goddess is reflected in the classical literature of the Mediterranean peoples, and Greek and Roman authors in particular supply ample evidence that mankind had remained true to the ancient traditions.[6] Some examples clearly show that similar ideas are repeated almost literally in totally different periods. In the so-called *Homeric Hymns*, generally ascribed to the seventh century BC, there is a paean[7] in honour of the earth, which begins as follows:

> I will sing of well-founded Earth, mother
> of all, eldest of all beings, she feeds all
> creatures that are in the world, all that
> go upon the goodly land and all that
> are in the paths of the sea, and all
> that fly: all these are fed of her store.

The Earth Mother is the mysterious power that awakes everything to life.[8] The philosopher Xenophanes[9] and many other writers concluded that 'all comes from the earth and all ends in the earth' or, as a more poetic epigram expresses it, 'the earth produces all things and then enfolds them again.' The Goddess, who is the mother of gods, men, beasts and plants, thus also becomes the Goddess of Death. Everything issues from her womb, everything will eventually return there. She holds sway over life and death, the two extremes. As the queen of Heaven and Light she also becomes the queen of the realm of Darkness, the Underworld, out of which the light of life is to spring forth again in an ever-rotating cycle. Thus the Earth Goddess encompasses the mystery of every woman; the Goddess is the beginning and end of all life on earth. As soon as this mystery has been fathomed it becomes less difficult to understand her various names and the rich variety of the epithets applied to her. She is called variously Aphrodite, Artemis, Persephone or Demeter; she may be specifically the mistress of the wild beasts (*ποτνία θηρῶν*), or the mother of the ear of corn; sometimes she is invoked as the Mother of the Gods (*μητὴρ θεῶν*), or she may be called simply the Great One, the Holy One or the Mighty One. But at all times and everywhere it is recognized that essentially one divine feminine power controls the present world as well as the one to come.[10] Thus it becomes clear why many centuries later in the second century AD in the fascinating *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius[11] the Egyptian goddess Isis of the many names[12] reveals herself to the writer in the following words:

> The Phrygians, first born of men, call me Mother of the Gods, goddess of Pessinus; the inhabitants of Attica, Minerva of Cecrops' city [= Athens]; the Cypriots living amid the seas, Venus of Paphos; the arrow-bearing Cretans, Diana of Dictynna; the triple-tongued Sicilians, Proserpina of the Styx; the original Eleusinians, Ceres of Attica, some [call me] Juno, others Bellona, some Hecate, others the One from Rhamnus.[13]

The various goddesses that are enumerated here by Isis and belong to her circle constitute as it were one common family. Yet each separate member retains specific qualities that distinguish her from any of the others and clearly designate each goddess, but in this case Isis combines all these characteristics into one person. Thus the other goddesses have not merged with Isis (syncretism, as the phenomenon is called by some scholars) but are assimilated by her.

To this family of goddesses belongs Cybele from Phrygia in Asia Minor.[14] In a hymn,[15] probably written in the second century AD at Pergamum, she is invoked as 'the mother of the immortal gods; she prepares a fast-riding chariot, drawn by bull-killing lions, she who wields the sceptre over the renowned pole, she of the many names, the honoured One'. 'Thou occupiest', continues the poet, 'the central throne of the cosmos, and thus of the earth, while thou providest soft food; by thee there was brought forth the race of immortal and mortal beings; by thee the rivers and the entire sea are ruled.' Then, as in the aretelogies in honour of Isis, with whom she is compared, follow the many names, all testifying to her divine power. She is called Hestia, 'wealth-giving since she bestows on mankind good gifts of all sorts'. 'Go to the feast, O lofty One! delighting in drums, tamer of all, saviour of the Phrygians, bed-fellow of Kronos, child of Uranos, the old One, life-giving, frenzy-loving, joyful One, gratified with acts of piety.'

Then, suddenly, her personality begins to materialize before our eyes: a goddess full of majesty, a nurturing[16] earth goddess since time immemorial, no sweet or idealized portrait. The Asiatic Goddess is wild and savage, she rejoices in tambourine and dance, she rides a lion-drawn chariot. In the *Homeric Hymns*[17] she is surrounded with howling wolves and roaring lions (*ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων*). At Prinias in Crete she is seated, quietly and regally, on a throne decorated with a long row of panthers; this is the Greek version of the oriental queen (pl. 2). It is this Goddess who has spread from Phrygia throughout the rest of Asia Minor, and thence to Greece and the Greek archipelago.

Then, *c.* 204 BC, the king of Pergamum sent her to Rome in the shape of a meteoric stone. Thereafter she was worshipped not only as a Mountain Goddess, but as the mighty Mother of the Trojans and of the Romans whom legend claimed were of Trojan descent. She became a national Roman Goddess, granting victory and protecting the Roman State. But the performance of her rites remained in the charge of orientals, not Romans, a dispensation carefully maintained by the Roman Senate throughout the Republic; under the direct control of the State the cult of the Goddess was to be kept in the proper channels. However, from being a national Goddess Cybele later became international again. For, in the expanding Roman Empire, we find the image of the mighty Goddess enthroned among her lions, and in many places temples (Metroa) were built in her honour.

In all the provinces of Europe we find her priests and priestesses, her inspiring ceremonies, soon to be heavily satirized by Christian writers. In various parts of Europe the Goddess established contact with indigenous goddesses and with other cults. But throughout this eventful 'career' she never lost her original character of Earth Goddess, all powerful over life and death. As long as mankind has existed, Cybele has been present, be it often under a different name; the Goddess is an integral part of humanity, forever. . . .

In mythology, and later in cult practice, Cybele was associated with a young lover, Attis. The stories told about him vary greatly in detail (e.g. he was either a shepherd boy or a prince), but the essence of his story is that he castrated himself, either voluntarily or under compulsion. He thus acted in the same way as many of Cybele's eunuch priests. At first he does not appear to have been worshipped and he is seldom found in Greece, but under the early Roman Empire his cult was officially recognized and thus he emerged from his earlier somewhat subsidiary status. During the Antonine period the ritual of the *taurobolium* or *criobolium*, in which the worshipper bathed in the blood of a sacrificed bull or ram, spread to Rome and the West; it became especially popular during the pagan revival near the end of the fourth century AD, by which time Attis was often regarded as a solar god and Cybele as a cosmic power.

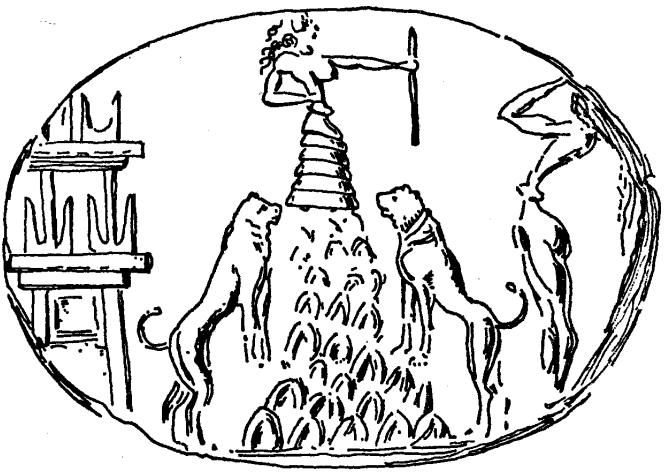


Fig. 1 Goddess with lions on a seal from Crete

Fig. 2 Clay sealing from temple repository, Crete

Fig. 3 Lentoid from Mycenae, preserved at Athens

1

Cybele in Asia Minor and Greece

Kubaba-Cybele, Mother of Gods, Men, Mountains and Lions

As far back as the Palaeolithic Age one finds in the countries around the Mediterranean a goddess who is universally worshipped as the Mighty Mother. In the most general sense she is actually the earth, which contains and produces life. She is the fertile furrow, receiving the germs and seeds into her warm and beneficial womb, where they change and ripen, finally to be released into a new and independent life on her sun-baked skin.[18]

The Goddess provides meat and drink, water and bread. Whenever other deities appear to rule their own domains and to perform their own tasks they are always found to be the sons or daughters of the all-creating Earth Mother.

Homer refers to the fertile soil as 'rich-clodded', and indeed the earliest representations of the Earth Mother betray a partiality for plump and heavy forms, as favoured in the Orient. If this coarse and massive heaviness stands for opulence, then the Mother Goddess presents her physical fulness as luxuriantly as possible: her pendant breasts droop with abundance, her belly is swollen with fertility, hips and thighs are powerfully rendered.

The first artists who carved her image in stone or moulded it in clay never failed to stress the organs of conception and reproduction. In the Archaeological Museum in Ankara a collection of the excavation finds from Hacılar, Beycesultan and Kültepe shows stages in the development of her figure. In full maturity she is generally represented in a kneeling, squatting or sitting posture;[19] sometimes she suckles a child (Horoztepe) or she presses her mother's milk from her breasts with both hands.[20] Whether she is represented as standing, or lying down full-length, the specifically female parts are always emphasized, even when the artists depict her in the shape of an amulet to be worn round the neck by a woman.[21]

The earth has not always been the fertile field that, untouched by the ploughshare, provides mankind freely with food, as in the golden days of yore. Even in our own times, the centuries of the Iron Age, the corn and the fruits of the field are reaped with the greatest difficulty, especially in the valleys and on the mountains that enrich those valleys and encourage the crop. Sometimes in these sun-baked countries one gets an impression of the Goddess reclining outstretched on a mountain-ridge, the highest peak being her head, her breasts forming the other summits, her outspread legs the

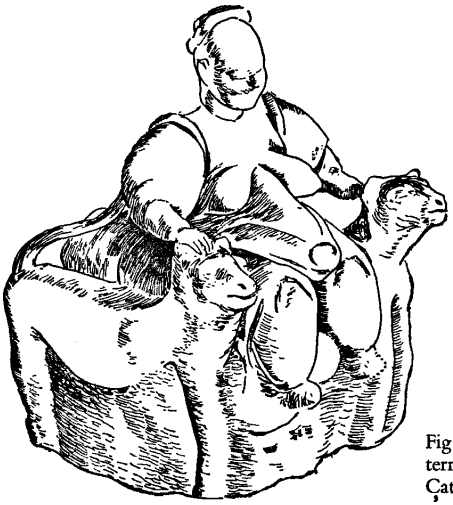


Fig. 4 Drawing of the earliest terracotta figure of Cybele. Çatal Hüyük, Turkey

sweeping stretches of the foot-hills; and tucked in between are the sloping folds of the valleys. In Asia Minor and Greece, as in Italy, the primitive population thus often thought it could see the earthly shape of the Goddess in a mountain, and consequently worshipped the mountain as the Mother. In Delphi, where the oracle originally belonged to a goddess (Themis) instead of a god (Apollo), lies a stone representing the navel (*omphalos*) of the world, and a mysterious cleft, like an open furrow between the summits of Parnassus. On various mountain flanks at Ephesus and elsewhere[22] in Asia Minor one can still find votive reliefs in her honour, on which the Goddess herself is represented enthroned or standing; often the mountain is her throne; [23] in her womb the dead are buried.

The rulers of these wide and ancient highlands built well protected and solidly walled fortresses of heavy mountain stone on strategically placed summits (*acropoleis*). Within the safety of their imposing fortifications these princes and feudal lords doubtless worshipped the Mountain Goddess as the protectress of their castles (e.g. at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns). The monumental entrance gate to the stronghold of Agamemnon's ancestors at Mycenae boasts as a coat of arms a carved stone depicting a wooden column (originally the tree goddess) flanked by two lionesses[24] (pl. 3). On the sealstones of the princes and nobles of Crete she is represented standing between two lions on a mountain-top (fig. 1). The castle wall, which from afar resembles a crown encircling the peak, decks the Goddess's head like a mural crown (*corona turrita*).[25] The citadel is the seat of royal power and the goddess of the stronghold occupies the throne[26] in all her dignity. The lions sit or stand beside her as sentinels, their heads challengingly turned towards anyone who dares approach these gates with hostile intent. The dreaded lion, the king of beasts, is subject to the Goddess who holds sway over the wild and inaccessible mountain forests. The roaring of a pair of hungry lions

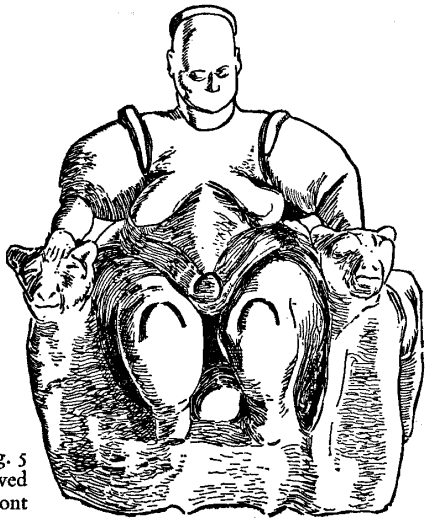


Fig. 5
The same, viewed from the front

in search of prey for their young will drive even the strongest animal into a panic. Artists have time and again depicted the struggle between lion and bull, lion and deer, man and lion. Fearsome with their powerful claws and their terrifying roar, which reverberates through the mountain chasms, magnificent and royal with their golden-yellow manes, the wild lions are the terror of the forest. But to the mighty Mountain Goddess they are no more than a pair of hounds, meek and tame; in full awareness of her power the Goddess stands imperiously between them, with wings stretched over their heads. Still growling they cannot but acknowledge the authority of this Goddess of mountain, forest and valley (pl. 4).

When enthroned, the Goddess is escorted by her two lions. She displays her ascendancy over the animal by allowing it to lie on her knees as a mere lap-dog, or sometimes she uses its back as a footstool, haughtily resting her right foot on its head.

It has always been assumed that the representation of the Goddess standing between two lions, as found on the Cretan seal-stones of *c.* 2000 BC and in many of the rock-reliefs of Asia Minor (e.g. Arslan Kaya), was earlier than that of the Goddess sitting between the lions. A new find made by James Mellaart[27] at Çatal Hüyük near Konia (the Roman *Iconium*) in Phrygia, the country of origin of the Goddess Cybele, seems – for the time being – to prove the contrary: a terracotta of *c.* 6000 BC (now in the museum at Ankara) represents the Anatolian Goddess sitting between two leopards (pl. 5; figs 4, 5). The statuette commands our admiration for the artist who, living in a world that knew no writing, managed arrestingly to convey how people in those days looked upon the Goddess. She is seated on a rocky throne; her breasts, hips and thighs are extravagant; she is the prototype of primitive and crude womanliness. The face is coarse with slightly protruding cheek-bones and small eyes; her head-dress is probably a small cap. On either side of her throne there stands a leopard; on each head she lays

a heavy hand protectingly and triumphantly. When seen from behind this statuette shows the artist's preoccupation with angular and lumpy shapes. One might say that these primitive forms have been manipulated so as to achieve a masterly combination of fruitful maturity, exuberance and vigorous strength. This prototype was to remain the model for an art tradition over dozens of centuries. That is why it is a work of genius. Later the details naturally varied: in early-geometric art the flat cap develops into a stiff high hat (*polos*), which in the Hellenistic–Roman period becomes a mural crown. The figure of the Goddess is later dressed in a tunic (*chiton*), a mantle, a belt, necklaces and sandals. But in essence she remains, throughout the centuries, the same enthroned deity.

Early Forms of Worship (6000–600 BC)

A closer examination of the Çatal Hüyük statuette reveals a head between the legs of the enthroned Goddess. Mellaart[28] interprets this as the representation of the Goddess giving birth to her divine son. In other representations she is depicted together with the young god. But Wolfgang Helck[29] has a quite different explanation; he regards the head as that of a young man, who, according to custom, had been killed by the gods after having sexual intercourse with the Goddess. In support of this theory Helck refers to some stories embodying this tradition: the Assyrian queen Semiramis,[30] the Syrian Derketo[31] and Artemis Apaturos[32] all kill their lovers after the act. Here, in the Neolithic Age, he claims to have found the earliest reference to such stories. Jürgen Thimme, however, regards the head as that of a dead adult and not of a new-born child, while the scene represents a *Rückgeburt* (inverted birth), i.e. the Goddess is depicted at the moment of taking the deceased back into her womb. This idea is not without parallels in the Mediterranean area, and special attention is drawn to the fact that at Çatal Hüyük, both in the cult-rooms and in the houses, so much space was reserved for the dead. However, Mellaart's interpretation should be regarded as the most natural one, the more so as it agrees most closely with other representations, such as the paintings at Çatal Hüyük itself, and with other renderings of the Goddess in which she appears between a youthful and an older god. For here already[33] 'differences in age distinguish between the god as son, the boy god on the leopard, the adolescent god and, as consort-husband, the hunter in a leopardskin cap who is shown bearded and seated on his symbol, the bull'. For our cognizance of the Mother Goddess these new discoveries at Çatal Hüyük are revealing since here all the elements of her character and her cult are combined, and we continue to find them until the fall of Rome.

Excavations at Hacılar, the dates of which (*c.* 5700–5000) agree with those at Çatal Hüyük, supply no new facts about the nature of the Goddess in this early period. Fresh evidence does not become available until a few millennia later when, in all the countries around the Mediterranean, the Great Goddess occurs in various hypostases, forms and names. E. Laroche[34] has drawn up two charts of the provenances (figs 6, 7) on the strength of which he attempts to trace the expansion of the Cybele cult in Asia

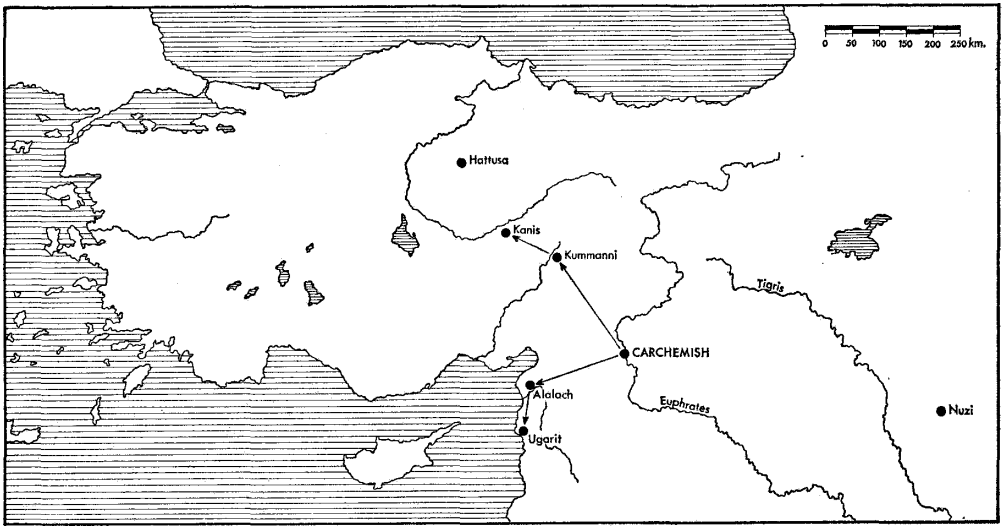
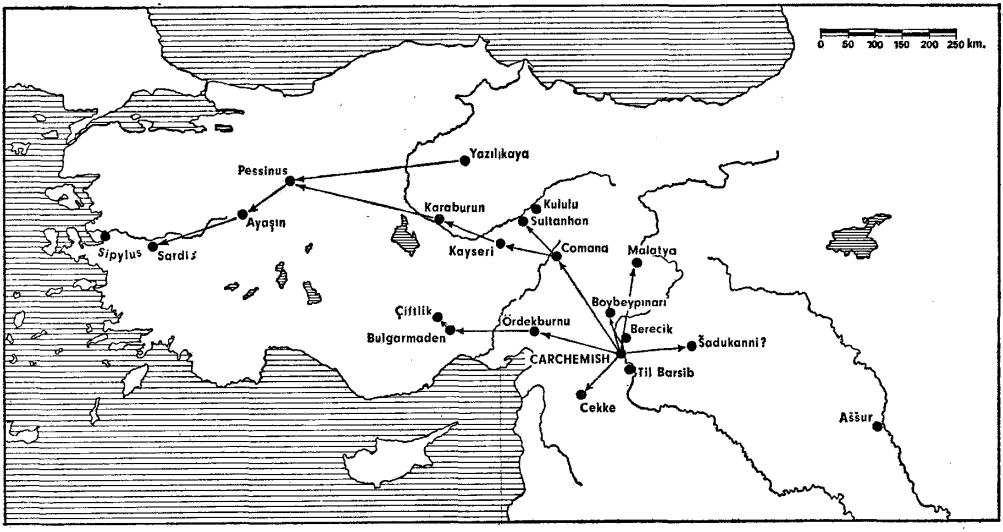


Fig. 6 Cybele in the second millennium BC in Asia Minor

Fig. 7 Cybele in the first millennium BC in Asia Minor



Minor during the last two millennia BC. He concludes that throughout this lengthy period indeed 'se profilent le nom, les épithètes, l'image d'une ancienne déesse anatolienne'. But two important elements, the orgiastic character of the cult and the Attis myth, are lacking. So he assumes that between the twelfth and the sixth centuries BC a syncretism (see p. 10) must have taken place: 'Autour d'un foyer religieux inconnu (Pessinonte ?), un clergé a combiné l'aspect extérieur de l'antique Kubaba, conçue comme "déesse mère", à une mysticisme de provenance étrangère, peut-être balkanique.'

Vivid impressions of the huge tidal waves of the various mighty civilizations that swept over Asia Minor[35] are provided by the splendid museums of Ankara and Istanbul. During the entire second millennium it was mainly controlled by the 'People of the Hatti', better known to us through the Old Testament as the Hittites.[36] They used the cuneiform script and their king Mursilis I (*c.* 1620–1590) overthrew Babylon, and with it the dynasty of Hammurabi. At the peak of its power between 1450 and 1200, their empire was one of the three most important states of the Near East. Their fortified city Hattusa = Boğazköy[37] has on the south-west a gate, flanked by two lions that threaten the visitor with open mouths. Moreover, some five sanctuaries have been excavated here, the most important being that of the Weather god Teshub, whose cult statue, which stood in a special room, has not been preserved. To gain a clear idea of the Hittite pantheon one must visit Yazilikaya[38] about one and a half miles to the north-east of Boğazköy. This sacred site consists of a temple for the king, near which in the open air a procession of sixty-three deities has been carved in relief out of a large rock (1275–1250).

The main scene (pl. 6) consists of six deities. The Weather gods of the city and of the Heavens are standing on mountain-tops, to receive the homage of the other four, the foremost of them being Hepatu, the wife of the Weather god of the Heavens. She is taller than her three companions, and wears a higher cap (*polos*) to emphasize her greater importance. She stands on the back of a panther, the animal which, like the lion, often occurs in the company of the Great Goddess. As Mother[39] of the Gods she is closely related to Cybele, but the Hittite version of the Goddess, standing on the animal subjected to her, is not reflected in the iconography of Cybele (see however an exception in Isinda, p. 30).

The representations of the Goddess at Carchemish and at Malatya are of a later period (1050–850) and have a certain interrelation with that at Yazilikaya. Kubaba of Carchemish[40] (pl. 7) again wears a high Syrian *polos*, adorned with two rosettes, and as a second attribute she holds a pomegranate. On the 'stele of Kubaba',[41] found in Malatya, the sculptor has depicted the god Karhuha of Carchemish with his wife in a very special way. Karhuha is usually shown with a deer as his sacred animal, but here, armed with a lance, he stands on a lion while the Goddess sits on a throne,[42] which rests on a bull's back. The artist has reversed the situation under the influence of the divine couple of Yazilikaya; 'la plus flagrante des hérésies', according to Laroche.

It must have been during the period of Hittite rule *c.* 1500 BC, that the so-called Niobe was hewn out of the rocks in the Sipylus Mountains near Magnesia (Manissa), as is shown by an inscription on its side.[43] This monument has given rise to problems,

but these are really due to an incorrect interpretation of an account in Pausanias:[44]

> This Niobe I saw myself when climbing Mount Sipylus. Seen at close range the rock is more like a cliff, and to the visitor it does not look in any way like the figure of a woman, let alone a weeping one. But on moving away a little one gets the impression of seeing a woman who has cried and mourned.

Now it is quite understandable that later scholars, on seeing at Akpunar, four miles east of Manissa, a sitting figure carved[45] out of the rock, should regard this as Pausanias' Niobe. This figure, which the Turks call Taş Suret, 'the stone figure', or Bereket Ilâhesi, 'the fertility goddess', is represented seated in a niche, holding her arms crossed before her breasts; on her head she wears a *polos*. There are no lions, and the name can no longer be deciphered from the hieroglyphics. In any case her figure is strongly reminiscent of Cybele, and this interpretation is the more plausible as in 1887, at a quarter of an hour's walk from the statue, the sanctuary of the Meter Plastene was discovered,[46] which is also mentioned by Pausanias.[47] But the Taş Suret does not bear any resemblance to a Niobe sitting dejected, turned into stone, bewailing[48] the cruel loss of her seven sons and her seven daughters; the sitting figure at Akpunar must therefore rather be identified with another mentioned by Pausanias[49] who regards the rock figure of the Koddinos as the earliest representation of the Mother of the Gods. But where, then, is Niobe? Following H. T. Bossert's theory George E. Bean offers us the photograph[50] of a rocky peak 'on the fringe of the town of Manissa on the south-west, and hardly higher above the plain than the Taş Suret'. Indeed, the Niobe seems to have been rediscovered: the silhouette of Tantalus' grieving daughter outlined against the sky.

Around 1180 BC a startling historical event took place, which completely upset the situation in Asia Minor. The fall of Troy, the bastion on the Bosporus, brought with it the downfall of the Hittite Empire. The conquerors were Thracians from the Balkans, beyond any doubt the ancestors of the Phrygians. However, several centuries elapsed before the Phrygian king Midas had founded a considerable empire (725–675). Its capital, Gordion, is in the process of being excavated by American archaeologists. The Phrygians were great worshippers of Cybele, who can be regarded as their national goddess. She plays an important part in their legends, and her monuments are found throughout their territory, both in early and in later times. A. Körte,[51] in his study of the Phrygian rock monuments, pointed out as early as 1898 that King Midas with the 'ass's ears' is held to have been the builder of the great temple of Cybele at Pessinus,[52] and that at least one tradition regards him as a son of the Goddess. His ass's ears he owes to Apollo, who, in the estimation of the Mountain god Tmolos, surpassed Marsyas in musical accomplishment. When Midas ventured to dispute the correctness of this judgment he was immediately punished by Apollo. Indeed, the story of the Silenus Marsyas playing the double-pipe is set in Phrygia, and he is regarded as either a follower or an intimate of Cybele. The invention of the *μητρῷον αὔλημα* (mother pipe) is ascribed by Pausanias[53] to Marsyas. Together with Cybele he roams the forests and mountains, and according to Stephan of Byzantium[54] he is buried at Pessinus near the temple of the Goddess. These Thracian Phrygians are no

doubt responsible for the orgiastic tendency in the Cybele cult, for they were devoted worshippers of Dionysus-Sabazius. Evidence of the rise of these wilder ways, which sometimes met with opposition, is found in the story of Anacharsis.[55] For years archaeologists have been searching for the grave of King Midas, who reputedly was fabulously rich. In the neighbourhood of Eskişehir (at Yazilikaya, which in order to prevent confusion with its Hittite namesake is generally referred to as Midas City), stands a fine building, until recently regarded as Midas' grave, but the latter obviously must lie near the city of Gordion, where Rodney S. Young[56] has examined some fine tumuli. The 'grave' in Midas City[57] has proved to be a wonderful rock-hewn monument in honour of the Goddess (sixth century BC). The confusion was caused by a Phrygian inscription, placed over the front and to the left in the rock-face. It includes the words MIDAI FANAKTEI, 'to Midas, the ruler'. The front of the monument (fig. 8) is decorated with a severe geometrical motif; the statue stood in a niche. Since it has not been found Akurgal[58] assumes that it was removable, and only placed in the niche during religious festivals. A good idea of such an 'epiphany in the gate' can be obtained from a fine Phrygian relief,[59] which was found at Ankara and also dates from the sixth century.

Throughout the Phrygian territory many similar monuments have been found,[60] and for a long time they were regarded as sepulchral monuments. They were assiduously traced around 1900 by Sir William Ramsay[61] whose work was later continued by Emilie Haspels.[62] On the east side of the Midas Kale lies the so-called Hyacinth Monument, hewn out of the rock.[63] Quite near to it and east of Midas City there is a rock monument, consisting of a series of steps that lead to a stone with a round top, which may have served as background for a throne (pl. 8). To the left of the steps Cybele herself is visible in the rock.[64] The question arises whether at this early stage one is justified in associating such thrones with the Goddess. Again Akurgal thinks of portable thrones or statues that could be erected on certain occasions.[65] There is, however, a distinct relation between Cybele and some mausoleums such as that at Arslan Kaya,[66] near Afyonkarahisar. Here too the front is decorated with a geometrical design; in the pediment there is a sphinx on either side of a column; on the right side there is a rearing lion, and in the niche itself, flanked by two lions, Cybele is visible behind the doorway (pl. 9). Especially revealing is the monument of Büyük Aslanta,[67] also in the neighbourhood of Afyonkarahisar and from the sixth century BC. But here it is a tomb, which owes its two lions, aggressively leaping at a column, to the Phrygian Goddess. Of greater simplicity is a smaller monument at Büyük Kapi Kaya near Afyonkarahisar[68] where the statue of the Goddess stands hieratically in the doorway; on the walls we again find the geometrical motif.

Finally there is a remarkable find from the post-Hittite period on the citadel (Büyük Kale) of Boğazköy.[69] Opinions differ as to its date, because it is not clear whether here the Greeks were already influencing the Phrygians, or vice versa (pl. 10). It is a statue of the Goddess in full ceremonial dress. She wears a *polos* and ear-rings, and is dressed only in a tightly wrapped skirt. In her left hand she holds an apple. She is accompanied by two small musicians, one of whom is playing the double-pipe, the other a large lyre. Charles Picard suggests that the statue originally belonged in a

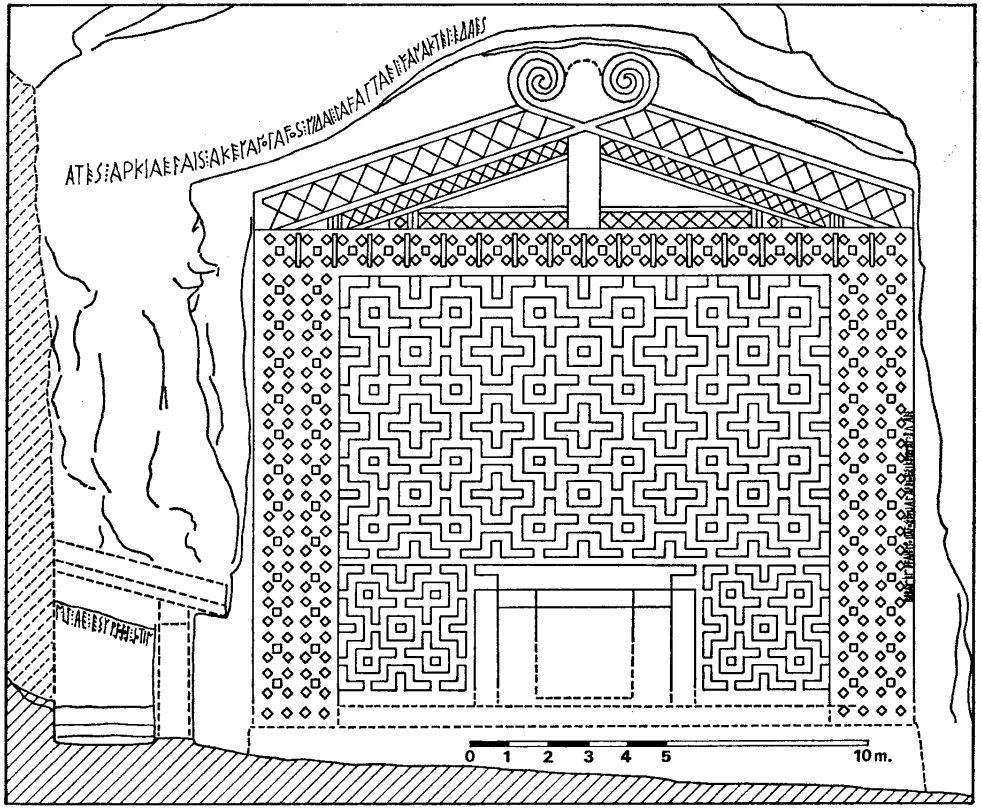


Fig. 8 The Midas-Monument of Yazilikaya

niche. The Goddess and music is an ever-recurring combination; thus when many centuries later the Attis sanctuary in Ostia was built in the *campus* of the Magna Mater,[70] its door was flanked by two rugged, *syrinx*-playing Pan-figures. Throughout the centuries this aspect of her Phrygian character was never lost.

Kubaba-Cybele: Her Name

The Greeks and Romans always considered that the Goddess with the lions originally came from Asia Minor. As the most important centres they mention the towns of Pessinus and Sardis. However, her name is rendered in various ways, such as *Κυβέλη*, *Κυβήβη*, *Κυβήκη* and *Κύβηλις*,[71] which led philologists to study the semantic derivation of the name, and its relation to other languages.[72]

Fig. 9 The name of Cybele in Lydian dialect. Before 570 BC

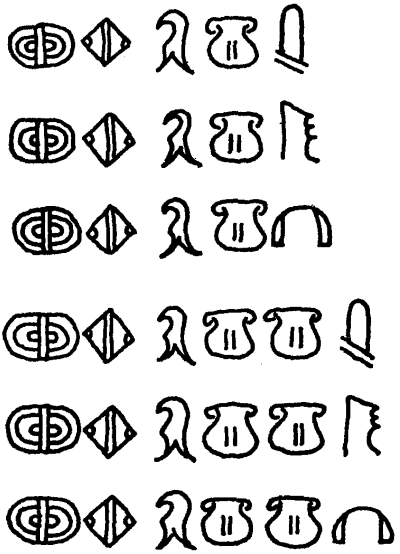


Fig. 10 Various forms of the name Kubaba in Hittite alphabet (clasp – square – dove – vase)

The name *Κυβήβη* is remarkable. The last two syllables belong to the group of the so-called *Lallwörter*, which, like Papa, Mamma etc., repeat a syllable. Another striking feature is that the common constituent of the above names, or their root, is invariably Kube or Kuba. The meaning of this root was, apparently, already a problem in antiquity, and the solutions were based on mere guesswork, such as the interpretation of the Byzantine bishop Lydos:[73] since the Goddess was worshipped in the shape of a meteorite her name was connected with 'cube' and was derived from this root (*ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυβικοῦ σχήματος*). So there must have been a general impression that this stone had the shape of a die (*πεσσός*), a conviction that in its turn furnished a derivation for the name of the town of Pessinus,[74] where the Goddess had her main sanctuary. Following up this line of conjecture Robert Eisler[75] suggested a comparison with Ka 'aba at Mecca and the Arabic town of Petra (= stone) where a quadrangular black stone without any representation (*λίθος μέλας τετράγωνος ἀτύπωτος*) was worshipped. Epiphanius, writing in the fifth century AD,[76] translates the name of the Goddess *Χααβοῦ* by *Κόρη* or *Παρθένος* = virgin. Now the remarkable thing is that the titles of virgin and mother for one and the same goddess depend on the holy marriage or hierogamy that she contracts. Eisler, in his speculations, goes even further than that, and cites all sorts of word combinations which for the greater part are only to be found in later works on etymology. Thus, for instance, he quotes Hesychius, who under the heading *Κύβελα* mentions *ἄντρα καὶ θαλαμοί* = caves and chambers (see p. 30). The Goddess was indeed frequently worshipped in caves where nymphs and

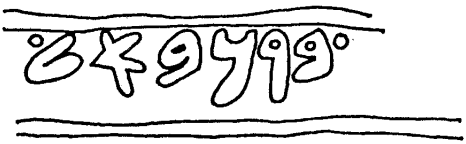


Fig. 11 The name of Kubaba in Aramaic alphabet (to be read from right to left) on the stele from Ördek-Burnu (9th or 10th century BC)

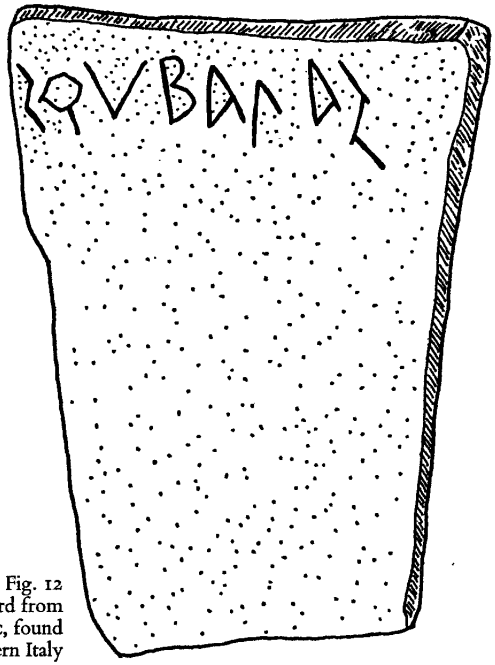


Fig. 12
The name of Cybele on a sherd from the end of the 6th century BC, found at Locri Epizefiri in southern Italy

kouretes joined her suite, but this does not provide us with any clue as to the origin of her name. Hesychius also speculates on *κύββα – κύμβη = ποτήριον = κυπέλλον* = hollow vessel, which is then brought into relation with the mystic formula (see p. 116) *ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα* = 'I have drunk from the cymbals.' Of course, this is at once linked up with the cymbals in the cult of the Goddess.

Returning to archaeological data we notice the inscribed fragment of a jar that was recently found at Sardis, the capital of Lydia,[77] and is to be dated before 570 BC: we read from the right to the left the word *Kuvav(a)* (fig. 9). The fragment was unearthed near a lion-altar, dedicated to the Goddess. The name is certainly identical with Kubaba-Kupapa, which occurs in the Hittite sources. However, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent this Lydian name still covers the character of the Hittite Goddess. Bossert has shown[78] that among the Hittites she was often found in combination with the Anatolian Santas (fig. 10);[79] this also applies to the inscription 4a, 4, at Sardis, where preference was given to Kubaba (fig. 11).[80] Another sixth-century inscription, found at Locri Epizefiri in southern Italy[81] (fig. 12), gives the words [*τᾶ*]*ς Ϙυβάλας* = 'belonging to Kybele', the name of the Goddess having been spelt with the ancient Greek koppa or k. So here the cult had been introduced straight from Asia Minor, or more precisely – as had happened at Marseilles and Velia – from the town of Phocaea.[82]

Using all the varied evidence Laroche[83] has recently traced the wanderings of the Goddess through Asia Minor itself during the last two millennia BC (see figs 6 and 7).

During the first centuries of the second millennium BC there were Assyrian trading-posts at Kültepe-Kanis near Kayseri (Caesarea) in Cappadocia, and a priest of Kubabat is mentioned three times in their cuneiform files. Women sometimes bear the name of Sili-Kubabat = 'Kubabat is my protection' and Kubabtum. In Tell Açana-Alalach near Al-Mina in northern Syria the theophoric name Alli-Kubaba = 'Kubaba is the Lady' and some other variants are not infrequent in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC. In Ugarit-Ras Shamra an Akkadian document from the royal palace contains the formula: The Lady Kubaba, mistress of the land of Carchemish (fourteenth–thirteenth centuries BC). Starting from Carchemish as the centre Laroche derives a southward drift of the cult via Alalach to Ugarit and a northward drift to Kanis. But Carchemish remained a centre, as is clear from the documents, which mention Kubaba over forty times as the 'Queen of Carchemish'; it is also there that her temple was discovered. She is also said to have been the goddess that was afterwards adopted by the Phrygians. Fig. 7 shows how, after a dark period between 1200 and 900 BC, the Goddess appears again in the ninth and eighth centuries in the Antitaurus near Çiftlik. From Carchemish and Yazilikaya she reaches her new centre, Pessinus, from there to undertake her triumphal progress to the West.

Thus it is most regrettable that the Phrygian language itself, though belonging to the family of the Indo-European languages, remains so difficult to decipher.[84] The Old-Phrygian inscriptions of the seventh and sixth centuries are written in a script that hardly differs from the Greek alphabet; the Neo-Phrygian documents from the first centuries of our era consist mainly of sepulchral inscriptions which, again, we can read but not translate. Frequently we come across the name of Attis in a phrase that for the rest is incomprehensible: *Αττι αδειτου*. But in most cases the inscription contains a passage in the lamentable Greek of some local dialect, which is then followed by a Neo-Phrygian concluding formula. Thus much concerning Cybele and Attis in their mother country still remains a closed book.

The Cult in Asia Minor during Graeco-Roman Times

The Greeks, who in early days had migrated to Asia Minor in considerable numbers and who, after the Trojan War, had founded prosperous colonial cities, especially on the west coast, were deeply impressed by the religion of the Phrygians. On their arrival they already found the Goddess everywhere, and they were prepared to adopt and continue her worship, so that when, in their turn, these cities established colonies overseas the Goddess accompanied them; sanctuaries were built and statues erected over a wide area. When the Romans, the future rulers of Asia Minor, themselves later adopted Cybele, three cult towns played an important part: Troy, Pergamum and Pessinus.

Troy's fate depended on the wooden statue of Pallas, the patroness of the city. As long as she guarded the stronghold, it was impossible for the Greeks to win the war, but eventually Helen delivered the Palladium to Odysseus and with it the city. This story has provided a theme for many great poets and artists.

Troy fell to the stronger Greeks, but in their turn the Greeks were subdued by the Romans, in legend the descendants of the Trojans. The theme that Rome owed its origin to Troy reached its peak at the time of the emperor Augustus. It was used by many writers,[85] but it is possibly Vergil who most clearly reveals its importance in connection with the Phrygian Mother:[86]

Then my father, pondering the memorials of the men of old, cries: 'Hear, O princes, and learn your hopes. In mid-ocean lies Crete, the island of great Jove, where is Mount Ida, and the cradle of our race. There men dwell in a hundred great cities, a realm most fertile, whence our earliest ancestor Teucer, if I recall the tale aright, first sailed to the Rhoetean shores, and chose a site for his kingdom. Not yet had Ilium and the towers of Pergamus been reared; men dwelt in the low valleys. Hence came the Mother who haunts Cybele, the Corybantian cymbals and the grove of Ida; hence came the faithful silence of her mysteries, and yoked lions passed under our lady's chariot. Come then, and let us follow where the gods' bidding leads, let us appease the winds and seek the realm of Gnosus! Nor is it a long run thither; if only Jupiter be gracious, the third dawn shall anchor our fleet on the Cretan coast.' So he spake, and on the altars slew the sacrifices due, a bull to Neptune, a bull to thee, fair Apollo, a black sheep to the storm-god, a white to the favouring Zephyrs.

The meaning is quite clear: the Goddess rules over Mount Ida in Asia Minor, which accounts for her epithet, Idaea, but there is also a connection with Mount Ida in Crete, which is related to the cult of Zeus. Nevertheless it is remarkable that neither Heinrich Schliemann nor Carl W. Blegen found early representations of the Goddess during their excavations of Troy VIIa (1300–1260 BC), which is generally identified with Priam's stronghold. The numerous terracotta figurines of Cybele enthroned[87] date only from the Hellenistic period, and mainly from the first three centuries before our era. The same period saw the rise of the tradition among the Romans of their Trojan descent and of Trojan Aeneas as their ancestor and it was then that they were forced by the pressure of developments in the Hellenistic world to intervene in Asia Minor.[88] In 205 BC Ilium (Troy) was loyal to Pergamum which had entered into 'friendship' with Rome; in 190 BC the praetor C. Livius Salinator went ashore near the town and was the first Roman to sacrifice to the ancient Athena Ilias; in the following year this sacrifice was repeated by the consul L. Scipio. The fact that the town retained its independence, and even obtained some extension of its territory and exemption from taxes was due to the goodwill of the Roman Senate, who clearly wanted to emphasize the 'special relationship'. It is significant that after Fimbria had pillaged the town in 86/85 BC three great Romans undertook its rehabilitation and expansion: Cornelius Sulla, C. Julius Caesar and Augustus, all in legend descendants from Trojan stock. Augustus restored the temple of Athena, and between 22 and 19 BC paid a personal visit to the town.

However, it was not from Troy but from Pergamum, in literature often identified with Troy, that Rome adopted the Goddess. Indeed, Pergamum has yielded far more documents about Cybele than has Troy.[89] On the famous altar in honour of Zeus and Athena at Pergamum,[90] probably built by Eumenes II (197–159 BC), the Goddess is shown battling against the Giants, as she does at Delphi (see p. 36). The Attalid dynasty,[91] deriving their name from Attis, became political clients of Rome; hence

Attalus III in 133 BC bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. Surviving correspondence between Eumenes II and his successor Attalus II (159–138 BC) with Attis, a priest of Cybele in Pessinus, reveals the intimate relationship between the hierarchical state of Pessinus and the buffer state of the kings of Pergamum; they both preferred continued co-operation with Rome in this difficult period, when they found themselves caught between the interests of the Syrian and the Macedonian kings. This policy was also strengthened by their common worship of the Great Mother.

Referring to the occasion in 204 BC (see p. 38 ff.) of the transference of the statue of the Goddess to the Roman envoys the grammarian Varro[92] writes: *ibi prope murum Megalesion, templum eius deae, unde advecta Romam.* So at the time of Attalus I her temple was known to be situated close to the wall, but its exact site has not yet been discovered. All the same E. Ohlemutz refers to the foundations of a building that touches the town walls near the south-eastern entrance gate (pl. 11). Close to it was found the large marble statue of the Goddess, seated on a throne with a footstool.[93] The lion by her side apparently had been erected separately, as with the Cybele statue on the Palatine in Rome, which shows a striking resemblance to the fourth-century statue in Pergamum.

From Pergamum one can see Mount Mamurt-Kaleh (pl. 12), on which there was another Metroon.[94] Excavations here have yielded, besides many terracotta statuettes, some inscriptions that prove that the founder of the Attalid dynasty, King Philhetairos, had already promoted the construction of the temple; Attalus I is also mentioned by name. Other finds from the stronghold proper have yielded representations of the Goddess, but most of them belong to the Roman period when Pergamum appears to have sought to express its allegiance to Rome by means of the Goddess. This is also apparent from some inscriptions of the first century BC, put up for a priestess, Phila, at a cult-site of the Goddess near the sanctuary of Zeus.[95] There even exists a metrical inscription,[96] discovered in the house of the consul Attalus in the first half of the third century AD, which refers to the existence of a statue of Cybele in his official residence. The *consul* Attalus had remained true to the Cybele worship of *King* Attalus.

Unfortunately little is known about Pessinus. It is much to be hoped that the Belgian excavations, at Ballihisar (Pessinus), an insignificant village situated to the south-west of Ankara, may eventually unearth Cybele's temple and the theatre. Some interesting evidence from the cemetery has already been published.[97] In any case, Pessinus held a key position in the spreading of the cult. The Greeks were zealous propagandists too. They introduced Cybele not only in the coastal towns but along the entire south coast; she is found no less frequently in the coastal towns of the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus), as far as southern Russia and the Crimea, and even in the modern seaside resorts of Rumania and Bulgaria (Thrace). Commerce and shipping often brought statues and reliefs of the Goddess from foreign workshops, and many of these small ports depict the Goddess on their coins. It is far less easy to trace the dates and routes of her arrival in the towns of the mountainous interior. Some of these towns formed small federations for mutual support, and then received the Goddess within their walls. The frontiers of the various states of Asia Minor show

many changes in the course of its turbulent and tempestuous history, and they had a great variety of governments. But even in the Roman epoch there was no citadel, village or hamlet in Phrygia that did not remain true to the worship of Cybele even during the most difficult times. Hence her votive reliefs, statues, terracottas and coins are amply represented in the many museums of Turkey.[98] Numerous excavations (e.g. at Gordion, Sardis) continue to yield new evidence (pl. 13) and thus a systematic catalogue of all the Cybele and Attis monuments in Asia Minor,[99] now planned, will have to be brought up to date again and again. Such a list would also show under how many different names and epithets the Goddess is known, names that are mostly related to the place or the mountains where she was venerated (pl. 14). She has been depicted in a rich variety of ways, which mostly depend on the local artists. Some really rare iconographic specimens have been found there, such as the Goddess between two lions that are poised to jump away in opposite directions. In one instance the lion is squatting on a high pedestal beside her. Occasionally she herself is found standing between the lions, as in a fine statue from Pergamum, now preserved in Vienna;[100] the breast ornamentation is comparable with that of the Ephesian Artemis. In a relief recently found at Sardis,[101] Cybele and Artemis appear together, Artemis carrying a hind and Cybele, who is standing beside her, carrying a lion, while a man and his wife have come to worship them. An inscription at Ephesus, which is being excavated by Austrians, informs us that the Artemis temple at Sardis was a branch of its Ephesian namesake, one of the wonders of the world. In other monuments the Goddess is represented with the Moon god Men[102] sometimes called Men the Tyrant (*Menotyranno*).

Numerous inscriptions yield ample information about the cult of the temple, local customs and traditions, as well as about the temple staff. An overall survey of the wealth of material that Asia Minor supplies offers a fascinating spectacle, even if one counts only the variations from Ephesus,[103] now housed in several museums. Numerous reliefs were found on the north-eastern slope of the Panajir Dagh near the city, where a rock sanctuary of the Goddess existed and the faithful put up dozens of dedications in the niches in the rock-face. An inscription from Colophon of the end of the fourth century BC[104] sheds an informative light on life in such a Greek town and on the part played by the gods and their temples. The first eighty-four lines are missing but then the account continues. (Note that the Mother Antaia is here none other than the Great Cybele, who had an important sanctuary in this city.)

In order that the people of Colophon, since King Alexander and Antigonos bestowed freedom upon them, may show themselves in every way zealous of preserving the glory of their ancestors, be it resolved by the people in the name of Good Fortune and for the safety of the entire people of the Colophonians, that the ancient city, which brought glory (in the eyes of all Greeks) to our forefathers when they received it from the gods and established it and when they founded its temples and altars, be enclosed within a common system of walls together with the present city.

In order that this may be effected with all speed, the priest of Apollo, the other priests and priestesses and the prytanis together with the council and those appointed in this decree shall on the fourth day of the ensuing month go down into the ancient market place to the altars of the gods which our ancestors bequeathed us and shall vow to Zeus Soter, to Poseidon

Asphaleios, to Apollo Klarios, to the Mother Antaia, to Athena Polias, and to all the other gods and goddesses as well as to the heroes who occupy our city and country, that, when our blessings have been consummated, they will hold a sacred procession and perform a sacrifice in whatever manner the people may decide.

Ten men are to be appointed who shall plan the walls: how they are to be drawn and how they are to be joined to the existing one so as to obtain the maximum of strength. After due consideration they shall approve of an architect, whoever seems to them best qualified to take charge of the work on the walls. They shall also consider and approve of the salary for the architect, plan for the raising of foreign money, study the manner in which the roads and building lots shall be laid out and advantageously sold or leased, and plan for setting aside a market place, workshops, and all other necessary public buildings. The men designated are to complete these tasks as rapidly as possible.

From Cyme, where the cult had been known since time immemorial, another inscription[105] gives us an interesting detail about a high priest (*archigallus*). A certain Heracleido has bought some cult-buildings in the name of the members of a sanctuary just outside the town. The expenses are allocated to the members, and a commission is to keep an eye on buildings and money. Then follows a benediction on those who belong to the mysteries and a malediction on the non-believers. The services are conducted by an archigallus, but the strange thing is that apparently the title is not used here for a priest of the Cybele cult, since this fragmentary document does not make mention of the Goddess, only of a male deity, Mandros, probably a Fire god. In a similar way the title of archigallus occurs on various sarcophagi (*σωματοθήκη*) of Termessus in Pisidia[106] without specifying if he is indeed a high priest of Cybele.

An inscription of the second century AD, probably from luxurious Aphrodisias in Caria,[107] relates how a supervisor (*παραφύλαξ*) Stephanion, the son of Stephanos, together with his young companions (*μετὰ τῶν νεανίσκων*), had stuccoed and painted the new House of Virgins, or Parthenon. He had done this in honour of the Mother of the Mountains, the Goddess who vouchsafes wishes (*μητρὶ θεῶν ὀρείᾳ ἐπηκόῳ θεᾷ*),[108] and had constructed this building for his native town, panelled it and provided it with a tiled roof.

In Cyzicus in Phrygia the Mother Goddess was worshipped in many different ways.[109] The ancient authors and the inscriptions mention the Mater Dindymene,[110] Kotiane,[111] Lobrine [112] and Plakiane.[113] About Cyzicus Herodotus[114] tells the story of the Scythian, Anacharsis, who became so impressed by the Cybele cult here that he promised the Goddess that he would celebrate her nocturnal feast on his homecoming. Herodotus continues:

But as regards foreign usages, the Scythians [as others] are wondrous loth to practise those of any other country, and particularly of Hellas, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and again also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis, having seen much of the world in his travels and given many proofs of his wisdom therein, was coming back to the Scythian country, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great pomp, he vowed to this same Mother that, if he returned to his own country safe and sound, he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes do, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called

Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of wood); hiding himself there Anacharsis celebrated the Goddess's ritual with exactness, carrying a small drum and hanging about himself images. Then some Scythian marked him doing this and told it to the king, Saulius; who, coming himself to the place and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and slew him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was uncle to Idanthyrsus, king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then I would have him know that he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthyrsus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who slew Anacharsis.

Archaeological finds have confirmed Herodotus' information, for Cyzicus must have had a valuable temple of Cybele. A number of marble columns have been found here,[115] which can only have belonged to the enclosure (*parastadion*) of the Cybele temple, as each of them is decorated with a statue of Attis leaning against it dressed entirely in eastern attire but for his bare belly. Anacharsis must have been arrayed as just such an Attis, and have acquired the title and attributes of an archigallus.

A marble decree[116] mentions the fee of the priests of Cyzicus to pay their living expenses. Two very interesting reliefs from the same town deserve close attention: firstly, a stele, now at Istanbul,[117] mentions the dedication by a number of persons to Poseidon and Aphrodite Pontia, whereas it is surmounted by a representation of Cybele and Apollo. The Goddess, on the extreme right, sits enthroned between two lions and holds a libation bowl (*patera*) and a tambourine (*tympanum*) in her hands. Before her stands Apollo in a long garment, his left elbow resting on a pillar. Near him is an altar, and a little man, much smaller than the gods, is leading a ram to sacrifice, which will presently be performed by another male personage. Secondly, an inscription on a relief now in Paris,[118] and dated 46 BC, records a dedication by Soterides Gallos to the Great Mother. He had invoked her aid on behalf of his comrade Marcus Stlaccius, who had been taken prisoner during a campaign against Libya and carried off into slavery. The Goddess appeared to Gallos (mark his name) in a dream and informed him that his friend had indeed been a prisoner of war, but had then been set free at her intercession. Thus Cybele joins the ranks of the rescuing gods, who by their succour gain the love of people in distress. Above this inscribed story of the miraculous deliverance and under the remains of the representation of an enthroned Cybele we see the scene of the sacrifice. On the extreme right is the altar, beyond which a veiled woman is standing with a basket on her head. Next to the altar grows a gnarled tree, on which two cymbals are hung. Solemnly the priestess comes striding forward, followed by a servant. Both have their hands veiled in the ritual manner[119] (*manibus velatis*), the right one raised. The priestess carries a box (*pyxis*) of incense grains, and the servant a double-pipe, while a little boy holds on to a ram which leads the procession (pl. 15).

A comprehensive inscription from Halicarnassus, now in the British Museum,[120] contains the reply of an oracle of Apollo at Telmessos, given to a certain Poseidonios in the third century BC. He had asked Apollo what to do in order to ensure future prosperity for himself and his large family. The god advised him to found an institu-

tion for the cult of Zeus Patroos, Apollo, the Moirai, the Mother of the Gods (*θεῶν μητέρα*), and the good daemons (*ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα*) of Poseidonios and Gorgis. G. Hirschfeld writes:

> For these sacrifices Poseidonios, probably a man of advanced age and numerous family, enjoins on all his descendants and on those who take wives from among his kinsfolk that certain lands and establishments of his own shall be mortgaged, the eldest male member of the family having for the time the usufruct of the revenues arising from them, with a reservation of four gold staters per annum for the prescribed sacrifices. This person at the same time was to hold the priesthood of the temenos which was to be founded. In this way a kind of trust was instituted, showing that sometimes hereditary priesthoods had their origin in a practice connected with private sanctuaries. Poseidonios and all parties concerned resolve to choose annually among themselves three functionaries, *ἐπιμήνιοι*, who are to receive the four staters secured by the mortgage, and to perform the yearly sacrifices in the month Eleutherios. In case the person entitled to it should renounce the usufruct, the mortgaged lands shall become the common property of all parties concerned, and be let on lease on their behalf by the functionaries; these shall deal in the same way with the temenos, taking, however, the rent for themselves, apparently as a reward for the labour which their function entailed. After this follows a minute description of the character and order of the sacrifices to be made, and of the shares which each of those entitled is to receive. Finally an account of the expenses is to be rendered to the people, and any surplus is to be bestowed as an offering.

Of an entirely different nature is the inscription attached to the wall of the Metroon at Maeonia in Lydia.[121] It dates from 147–146 BC and quotes a decree enacting that one has to be cleansed before entering the precincts of the temple (*εἰς τὸν περιωρισμένον τόπον τοῦ Μητρωίου εἰσπορεύεσθαι*). Those who have been in contact with the corpse of a relative have to wait for five days; pollution by another corpse demands three days; from sexual intercourse (*ἀπὸ δὲ γυναικὸς*) one can be purified (*ἁγνεύειν*) on the same day by ablution.[122]

Thus inscriptions often indicate the existence of a sanctuary that has not yet been discovered. The temples were generally situated in a cave or near a rock in accordance with an old tradition, as was the sanctuary of the Meter Steunene near Aezani in Phrygia;[123] in other places the temples were built in a Greek or Roman style; frequently the Goddess was also worshipped in private chapels. In towns a favourable site was selected in the neighbourhood of a 'famous' deity. At Sardis[124] and in other towns of Lydia Cybele not unnaturally joins Artemis, to whom she is closely related and in some aspects even identical. A beautiful example of this is a relief in the Louvre,[125] presumably originally from the small Lydian town of Kula (pl. 16). According to the inscription it represents three goddesses, from left to right Demeter, Artemis and Nike. The artist's description is indispensable, since the central figure has been depicted as a Cybele. She is sitting on a throne with footstool, and rests her hands on the heads of two escorting lions. A remarkable feature is that the lions are standing with their forelegs on the heads of bulls. The Goddess wears a *polos*, decorated with a crescent moon. Another allusion to Artemis is the crescent with eagle, which is depicted next to her head over a winding serpent. A second serpent crawls upwards at the other side, while the throne of the Goddess is also decorated with two serpents.

Demeter, standing by her side, holds a libation bowl over an altar and in her left hand she has a sheaf of corn. At her other side the winged goddess of Victory raises a triumphal garland towards Artemis-Cybele.

The two museums in Izmir (Smyrna) abound with information about Cybele, but the most interesting piece from this town is to be found in the Hermitage in Leningrad.[126] This is a relief in red terracotta (pl. 17). The stately Goddess is seated on a beautiful throne in her temple; a lion leaps up to her to have its head stroked; at the foot of the throne a Pan sits leisurely playing his *syrinx*, and in the background stands a young cup-bearer, clad only in a cape (*chlamys*) hanging in folds. The pilasters (*antae*) on either side of the temple entrance are each decorated with three maenads (Bacchants), one above the other, dancing in wild ecstasy, whereas on the frieze below the throne a fight between a bull and lion is depicted three times.

That there are many variants on the same important theme is shown, for instance, by the inventory of the small Metroon at Priene[127] in Ionia. In a statue, now housed in Istanbul,[128] the lion serves the Goddess as a footstool, and a fine terracotta shows her seated between the lions with another lion on her lap, and an exceptionally large tambourine by her side.[129] In the frieze of the temple of Athena Polias in Priene,[130] which, like the frieze at Pergamum, depicts the battle between the Gods and the Giants, Cybele is seen riding a lion. Miletus, likewise in Ionia, also boasts many types showing in turn the standing and the enthroned Goddess. Imposing in its simplicity is the relief[131] of the Goddess majestically standing between two lions which, though turned towards her, look over their shoulders in case of approaching danger. The small town of Sille near Konya yields another unique variant in the shape of a narrow tall white marble stele[132] depicting Cybele with a lion on her lap; at the bottom a small niche has been constructed for a lamp to be lit in the Goddess's honour. At Isinda in Pisidia[133] the Goddess is found standing on a lion that lies full length on the ground like a dog. The reliefs mentioned above represent just a selection of the extremely diverse material from Asia Minor.

Minor monuments, such as the terracottas, are much in evidence at Tarsus and Myrina in Asia Minor. There are two main large workshops, which are clearly distinguishable[134] both by their artistic interpretation and by the kind of clay that they used. The variety of types in these small terracottas does not always correspond with that of the larger sculptures and reliefs. They were set up in houses or placed with the dead in their graves. It is the typology of Attis in particular that is so different in the two workshops.[135] Sometimes he is sitting, like the Egyptian Harpocrates, to whom he indeed shows some resemblance, on a calyx, sometimes he is leaning against a column in a pensive attitude, with wings attached to his shoulders, sometimes he dances around in balletic style, stressing his movements with the folds of his cape. Attis was a favourite subject especially with artists who made terracotta figurines as his youth and sad love adventures appealed to their imagination.[136]

Artists who in Roman times designed coins for the towns of Asia Minor were deeply impressed by Cybele and her consort Attis. On these marvellous works of art they depicted Cybele sometimes enthroned or mounted and at other times showed her bust or head with a mural crown. In the context of what has been said above con-

cerning Cyzicus it can be understood why the coins of this city paid special attention to the divine couple.[137]

Cybele in Athens

In the ninth century the Byzantine bishop Photius[138] wrote a lexicon that contains much valuable information. Under the heading *Metragyrtes*[139] he relates the following story about the origin of the Cybele cult in Athens:

A certain man came to Attica and initiated the women in the mysteries of the Mother of the Gods, according to the story told by the Athenians. The Athenians killed him by throwing him headlong into a pit. A plague followed and they received an oracle bidding them appease the murdered man. Therefore they built a Bouleuterion in which they placed the Metragyrtes, and fencing him around they consecrated it to the Mother of the Gods, and also set up a statue of the Metragyrtes. They used the Metroon [temple of the Mother] as record office and repository of laws, and they filled up the pit.

In the fourth century the emperor Julian[140] tells a similar story in his eulogy of the Mother of the Gods:

The Athenians are said to have insulted and driven away the gallus [priest of the Mother] as an innovator in religion, not understanding how important the Goddess was, and how she was the Goddess honoured amongst them as Deo, Rhea and Demeter. . . . From that followed the wrath of the deity and the attempt to appease it. . . . The prophetess of the Pythian god bade them propitiate the wrath of the Mother of the Gods. The Metroon, they say, was set up for this purpose – the place where all the official documents of the Athenians used to be kept.

Although these two references are relatively late, it is clear that the Asiatic Goddess is meant, and also that an oriental priest, metragyrtes or gallus (see Chap. 5), had come to Athens with the Goddess. A purely oriental form of the cult was never popular with the Athenians, but her associations with Deo, Rhea and Demeter facilitated her introduction. Plutarch[141] mentions an incident that took place in 415 BC 'at the altar of the twelve gods, where a man suddenly leapt up on to the altar, straddled it and mutilated himself' (*ἀπέκοψεν αὑτοῦ λίθῳ τὸ αἰδοῖον*). But for the rest little mention is made of emasculation and of the Attis cult in Athens itself, and attention centres round the figure of the Mother of the Gods. Where was the site of this sanctuary? If we follow Photius, who mentions the temple as a depository for legal archives, there is only one answer: in the Agora. Not only is this assumption supported by many other accounts,[142] but also by excavations carried out there before World War II by the American School under the supervision of Professor Homer A. Thompson,[143] who locates the Metroon on the south-west side of the Agora, close to the round Tholos (see plan and reconstruction, pl. 18). About this Tholos Aristotle[144] says:

Those members of the Council [*Boulê*] who are acting as the committee [*prytaneis*] first eat together in the Tholos, receiving pay from the City; next they arrange the meetings of the Council and the Assembly.

This council chamber, or Bouleuterion, is in fact quite near. The building in question is the old Bouleuterion, a square building of twenty metres, which was built in the early part of the fifth century after the reforms of Cleisthenes, and intended for the meeting of the new council of five hundred members. At the same time a small archaic temple was erected in honour of the Mother of the Gods, which soon after its completion was destroyed by the Persians (480/479 BC) never to be rebuilt. Consequently there are few traces left. Henceforth the Goddess was housed in the old Bouleuterion, which also functioned as the State archive. As a result the building soon became too small, and at the end of the fifth century BC a decision was taken to build a new Bouleuterion as a special assembly hall, while the other building, temple and archive, was given the name of Metroon. The altar was on the east side. The building also contained the famous statue of the Goddess, attributed by Pausanias[145] and Arrian[146] to Phidias himself, but by Pliny[147] to the great master's pupil Agoracritus. This statue remained a constant source of inspiration for later works of art, the artist depicting the Goddess enthroned, with a libation bowl and a tambourine in her hands, and recognizable by the lions beside her.[148] Many representations of this type have been found in the Agora.

Finally, in the Hellenistic period, in the third quarter of the third century BC a new Metroon was built, consisting of four rooms. The second apartment (pl. 19) certainly served as a temple, whereas the adjacent rooms were probably used for archives. The largest and most northerly room, consisting of two storeys and with an altar in the inner court, is regarded by Thompson[149] as 'an official residence'. This Metroon was finally destroyed by invaders in AD 267. At about the same time Athenaeus[150] recorded, in connection with the Metroon, a story about one of the impudent tricks of Alcibiades:

> At the time when the Athenians were masters of the sea and brought lawsuits involving islanders to Athens, someone made a case against Hegemon and brought him to the city. When he arrived he assembled the Artists of Dionysus [the actors' guild] and with them approached Alcibiades claiming his assistance. Alcibiades bade them have confidence, and telling them all to follow him he went into the Metroon, where were the records of the lawsuit of Hegemon. The clerk and the magistrate [*archon*] were very annoyed, but held their peace because it was Alcibiades; the prosecutor took the precaution of fleeing from Athens.

It is remarkable that, as far as we know, it was only in Athens that the sanctuary of the Goddess and the legal archives were housed under the same roof. But this should not be too surprising. Like Rhea the Goddess was a primitive deity who, according to a pun of the philosophers, had invented fruits (*fruges*) and corn (*frumentum-frugmentum*) in *Phrygia*. By this invention she enabled the wandering tribes to settle in fixed areas, and brought them to a more regular way of life within the world order (*kosmos*) and to fixed laws. In the same way as Demeter and Isis, the Goddess came to be regarded as the inventor of agriculture and, consequently, of legal order. One example of this important evolution can be found in the poet Lucretius,[151] who claims that he owes his theory to old poets of the Greeks (*veteres poetae Graium*). And so perhaps a deeper meaning ought to be attached to the phenomenon of the Goddess re-

ceiving hospitality in the neighbouring old Bouleuterion. Should not the *Boulê* watch over the well-being of the State, which can only be maintained if the right order be assured?[152]

Thompson's clever reconstruction evoked immediate protests from his colleague, the late Charles Picard.[153] According to him the plague that is mentioned by Photius is that of 430 BC. Only then would Cybele have been recognized and therefore no earlier sanctuary can have existed. The Tholos is not a *prytaneum*; the old Bouleuterion he claims to be a *telesterion* (hall of initiation) for the Eleusinian Demeter. The new Bouleuterion, whose round seats in the reconstruction he considers as purely hypothetical, is the true Cybele temple, for which Agoracritus made the statue after 430 BC; and the Metroon, or rather the building with the four apartments from the Hellenistic period, he supposes to have been the Bouleuterion. The Americans have never taken Ch. Picard's objections seriously and they maintain their own interpretation of their excavations. They point to some tiles with votive inscriptions to the Mother of the Gods, which have been found in the immediate vicinity of the Hellenistic Metroon;[154] south of it a fragment of a Cybele relief[155] was found with the words 'Kritoon to the Mother of the Gods'. J. S. Boersma,[156] too, has recently taken up the matter again. He also draws attention to the great interest in Cybele which arose in Athens only towards the end of the fifth century,[157] and so he is not inclined to accept the identification of the early small temple next to the Bouleuterion with the first Bouleuterion. He regards the smaller building as a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios.[158] Yet Cybele must have been known in Athens before 430 BC, as is witnessed by the early finds at Marseilles[159] and at Locri[160] in southern Italy, although this does not necessarily imply that she had a sanctuary in Athens.

Concerning Diogenes, the Cynic, it is well known that he lived in a jar (*pithos*), but few people know that he had found this shelter in the Metroon.[161] He wrote in a letter:

> To Apolexis. I met you on the subject of a house, and I am grateful for your promise, but having seen a snailshell, I found in the jar in the Metroon a house sufficient to keep off the wind. So consider yourself released from your task and congratulate me on discovering my true nature.

Another philosopher, Stilpon (*c.* 380–300 BC), ignored the prohibition of entering the sanctuary after eating garlic,[162] and even calmly laid himself down to sleep there. Many inscriptions mention the Metroon together with the fact of its housing archives; sometimes the Mother is presented with gifts. Dozens of representations of the Goddess, in marble or in terracotta, were found in the Agora. The Museum of the Acropolis also abounds with reliefs, most of which were found on the western slope of the hill and seem to confirm the assumption that there once was a sanctuary in that area.

In Athens a remarkable number of finds connected with Cybele have been brought to light, which continue until the end of the fourth century AD. But in most cases either the exact provenance is not known, or there is insufficient evidence to justify the assumption of the existence of a sanctuary. The finds generally come from buildings used for entirely different purposes, such as the two reliefs that were recently

found in the Academy of Plato.[163] Sometimes they are discarded fragments which were re-used in the construction of the city wall. When visiting the Olympieion one sees at once the torso of a stately enthroned Cybele which stands on the lawn amidst the mighty ruins of this unfinished temple (pl. 20). Not far off on the bank of the Ilissos at Agrai[164] lies a small Metroon; its frieze has been preserved together with a magnificent statue of Kore.[165]

In the port of Piraeus, where she must have had several sanctuaries, Cybele was widely worshipped. The exact location of only one of these temples has been discovered. It is a small specimen, situated in the Moschaton quarter[166] and discovered in 1971. As yet nothing of the building itself has been published, but only the stately statue of the enthroned Goddess (pl. 21). Another larger sanctuary, exceptionally prolific in finds, was excavated in 1855 by French soldiers who were stationed in the port of Piraeus during the Franco-Russian war. In 1915 Etienne Michon[167] re-examined all the old reports on this impressive discovery, which has yielded many honorary decrees,[168] but he could not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.[169] The site is indicated as being either 'near the windmills' or the 'hill of the mills', or 'the southern part of the Piraean peninsula' (according to the official record). A closer study of the numerous inscriptions has yielded much valuable information.[170] Whereas in the Agora we are concerned with an official State cult, the sanctuary in the Piraeus was a private institution, founded by foreigners in the fourth century BC. The sanctuary and its grounds as well as the foreign *thiasotai* were taken over by the Athenians between 284 and 246 BC. The Greeks took charge and formed *orgeones* or societies (colleges), who selected a new priestess by lot every year. There were no priests, though they had supervisors (*epimeletai*), a treasurer and a secretary. These last two offices were normally continued, whereas the supervisors changed annually. The *orgeones* adopted Attis into their cult, but neither galloi nor metragyrtes occur in their annals. The appointment of a priestess underlines the absence of a priest. It was not until AD 163/164 that a State priest was appointed side by side with the priestess, which may indicate that at that time under Marcus Aurelius the cult was taken over by the Roman State. An inscription under the portrait of the priestess Melitine[171] (pl. 22) declares that she was the daughter of Primos from the parish (*deme*) of Peania, and after she had been priestess under the priest Philemon, son of Praxiteles, from the *deme* of Phlya, she dedicated this statue. Most finds in the Piraeus are now kept in the museum there, though a great many have gone abroad. It is not always clear whether all these pieces were found during the 1855 excavations, but the great number of them (the terracottas have vanished) make this hardly likely. In Berlin especially there are some fine pieces, such as the classic relief on which Cybele, flanked by two lions (only one is visible), is seated on a throne with footstool, in the company of Hecate and Hermes[172] (pl. 23). On another relief (*c.* 300 BC) the Goddess,[173] then called Agdistis, stands majestically before Attis, who is sitting on a rock (pl. 24). The Goddess offers him a small terracotta vase, but the deeper significance of her gesture remains obscure.

Cybele in the Rest of Greece

In the mid-second century AD Pausanias made a tour of Greece, and to his report (*periegesis*) we owe much invaluable information. Generally speaking he is so accurate that many archaeologists still like to follow him closely. Discoveries resulting from this account of his travels include the Metroa at Athens and at Olympia.[174] He also mentions a temple and a statue of the Mother of the Gods at Akria[175] on the west coast of the Peloponnese, and a private shrine at Thebes,[176] private, because it is said to have been founded by no less a person than the poet Pindar, who sings of the Mother – called Dindymene by Pausanias – in his third *Pythian Ode*.[177] On his doorstep the girls are dancing and singing at night in honour of the Mother and Pan. Nymphs and Pan, worshipped in caves, are among the true followers of Cybele, as well as the maenads and Dionysus. This is clearly illustrated by the relief (pl. 17), probably from Smyrna.[178]

But Pausanias' account alone is not enough to give a true picture of the spread of the cult in Greece. One has to add the numerous statues, reliefs and terracottas, and even some wonderful silverware. For the Goddess was venerated by rich and poor, even if the greater part of the finds consists of simple works of art that were carved in series from Athenian marble in Athenian studios (pl. 56). The workshops supplied customers abroad, and one can find examples of these pieces in numerous museums.

In several towns Cybele often adapted herself to the local godhead. The existence of the ancient cults of Gê and Themis in Delphi[179] facilitated her introduction there. On the frieze of the Treasury of Siphnos at Delphi, Cybele, in her lion-drawn chariot, takes part in the battle against the Giants (pls 25, 26). In Eleusis she had to be content with a place that, naturally, was inferior to that of the locally all-powerful Demeter. Nevertheless some writers, such as Euripides,[180] rank her directly with Demeter, and there is a small set of reliefs upon which, in one and the same temple, the two Mother Goddesses are represented side by side, but each in her own niche and on her own throne.[181] In the reliefs of the twelve gods from Lebadea[182] (pl. 27) and Thasos[183] (pl. 28, top half) Demeter and her daughter are seen paying their respects to Cybele who, enthroned as the principal Goddess, receives the other deities. These shifts of stress demand the greatest attention if one wants fully to appreciate the role of the Goddess accurately in different places and at different times. At Epidaurus, for instance, the god of medicine Asclepius of course stands supreme. Yet in his sanctuary an inscription[184] was found in honour of the Mother of the Gods and dedicated as the result of 'a piece of advice' received in a dream, in which Asclepius himself usually appeared. The priest Diogenes as well presented the Goddess with a marble altar,[185] although he also gave one to Selene, Apollo, Asclepius, Telesphorus and Hygieia, in short to the entire family of the Medical god. Diogenes appears to have been a priest in both Epidaurus and Eleusis. Epidaurus has also yielded a splendid hymn to the Goddess with the wild lions, which shows several parallels with the *Homeric Hymn* to the Mother of the Gods (see p. 9). Some scholars would ascribe it to the poetess

Telesilla (first half of the fifth century BC),[186] but others date the inscription to the time of the Roman Empire, without however excluding the influence of the poetess. In Chalcis[187] and Eretria monuments of Cybele have been found but the version from Eretria[188] was discovered in the important sanctuary of Isis. At Corinth Pausanias[189] is our guide again. He carefully indicates the shrines along the road to the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite:

> First there were two shrines of Isis and two more of Serapis; then there were altars of Helios and a sanctuary of Ananke and Bia. Above this there stood a temple of the Mother of the Gods with a stele and a marble throne.

Pausanias also saw the temples of the goddesses of Destiny and of Demeter and Kore, close to the temple of Hera. R. S. Proud[190] has already found the temple of Demeter and Kore, and so he seems to be on the right track towards the discovery of the Cybele sanctuary. Several Cybele representations from Corinth are already known. One of them is a remarkable statue which was found in a wall and is probably of Roman date.[191] The Goddess is seated on a rock and rests her feet on a couchant lion. On the right side of the rock a three-fold Hekateion has been depicted, which corresponds to the attributes of Attis, pine-tree, *syrinx* and shepherd's crook (*pedum*), on the other side. In the Peloponnese the princes of the Mycenaean castles in early days worshipped the Goddess of the lions. The Lion Gate at Mycenae (pl. 3) bears the famous heraldic motif of the two rampant lions holding their forepaws against the trunk of a tree (= goddess?), which suggests that here the Goddess was regarded as the protectress and patroness of the bastion.[192] This had already been her early function in Asia Minor, and in Roman times she wears, as the ruler of the city, a mural crown (pl. 29), and as such she is directly comparable with the Tyche (Fortune) that governs the city. Sparta, the city of Artemis, has also produced some reliefs of Cybele, although they do not belong to the period of the city's greatness.[193] Representations of Attis have occasionally been found in Greece, and in most cases one may be sure that they date from the Roman period.

2
Cybele in Rome, Italy and Sicily

Cybele's Advent in Rome

In 204 BC when the Romans brought the Goddess from Asia Minor their city was still in the last stages of the Hannibalic war. Historians have given various versions of Cybele's arrival in Rome, but the quest for the truth still continues. Ernst Schmidt,[194] for instance, has seriously questioned the credibility of the entire story. He tries to prove that her entry followed the same course as that of Asclepius in 293 BC. This was the period after Alexander the Great when the Hellenistic Greek-speaking world was exerting a strong influence on the West. The rigid and severe statues of the gods in Roman temples, as we know them from texts and excavations, no longer suited the new spirit of internationalism, nor the consequent emerging importance of the individual.[195]

The Romans had introduced other deities into the territory that they controlled by means of *evocatio*.[196] Gods of different tribes were transferred to Rome[197] under the enticing promises of better treatment than they had received in their previous home towns. During the siege of a town its deity might be 'called out', as it were, with the aid of special rites. In other cases it had been dire necessity that forced the Romans to admit non-Roman divine powers within the precincts of their city (*pomerium*). But necessity may be attended by wise management, and one can clearly detect this in the story of the introduction of Asiatic Cybele, in spite of the objections that can be raised against the reliability of the historical tradition.[198]

Livy[199] describes the situation in the year 213 BC:

> As the [Hannibalic] war dragged on and on, and the fortunes of war fluctuated and with them the feelings of the people, superstitious ideas, for the greater part from abroad, spread so widely among the citizens that it seemed that either the people or the gods had suddenly changed. Not only were Roman rites abolished in secret and within four walls, but even in public, in the Forum and on the Capitol, a crowd of women regularly assembled, who neither sacrificed nor prayed to the gods in the traditional manner. Sacrificial priests and augurs had got a hold on the citizens, and their number was increased by the arrival of the country people who, driven from their fields, uncultivated and unsafe as a result of the long war, had come to the city.

Soon, the matter was referred to the Senate which severely reprimanded the supervisors (*aediles*) and the police (*triumviri capitales*) for not having taken adequate action against these 'innovators'. But these lower officials were not adequate, so a higher magistrate, the city praetor (*praetor urbanus*) M. Aemilius, was instructed

to deliver the people from all these superstitions. In the assembly he read out the resolution of the Senate, and simultaneously he issued an order that whoever possessed books of prophecies or prayers, or manuals for the sacrificial cult, was to deliver up these books or writings to him before 1 April. Nor was anybody permitted to sacrifice in public or in a sacred place according to a new or foreign rite [*externo ritu*].

The story is quite clear: undesirable characters had come to disturb the Roman religion, and the traditionalists had to try to divert the development into the right channels by means of tried political techniques. There were in Rome quite a few families who prided themselves on their supposed Trojan origin,[200] claiming to be descendants of the Trojan emigrants who had shared in Aeneas' good and bad fortune.[201] Once the fate of Troy had depended on the wooden Palladium, the statue of Pallas Athene, which the cunning Odysseus had managed to appropriate. Thus, it might be thought, the fate of the new Troy–Rome depended on the Phrygian Goddess. If so, two interests would be served, that of the nobility who boasted of a Trojan origin, and that of Rome's future policy towards Asia Minor.

Now the Sibylline books declared, according to Livy,[202] that 'whenever a foreign enemy has invaded Italy, he can only be driven away and vanquished, if the Mother of Mount Ida is transferred from Pessinus to Rome'. The board of *decemviri* (magistracy of ten men), who were subordinate to the *pontifex maximus*, official head of the Roman State religion, found a solution. The Sibyl resided in Delphi as well as in the Cumaen cave near Naples. The ancient oracle of Apollo at Delphi must be consulted. The messengers returned with a far more favourable reply than had been expected. In 205 BC another delegation was sent to King Attalus of Pergamum, who was already on good terms with the Romans on account of their common cause against Philip of Macedonia, who was allied with Hannibal against Rome. The legates were: 'M. Valerius Laevinus, who had twice been consul, and had successfully promoted Roman interests in Greece; M. Caecilius Metellus, former praetor; Ser. Sulpicius, former aedile, and two former quaestors, Cn. Tremellius and M. Valerius Falto.' Each of them had been a prominent state magistrate. Two of them belonged to the clan (*gens*) Valeria, who were of Sabine descent. M. Caecilius Metellus, of a renowned plebeian family, was the son of a consul and high priest; the Sulpicii, too, were a very old family; Tremellius was the only member of the legation of whose family nothing is known. Only the Metelli belonged to families that boasted their Trojan descent, but from coins in particular we know that a similar tradition was very much alive among the *gentes* Volteia, Plaetoria, Fabia, Furia and Julia.[203] In the religious politics of those days the Scipiones, too, played an important part, as will presently be seen.

On its way the legation called at Delphi, and then proceeded to King Attalus at Pergamum. Some writers report that the Goddess of Pergamum itself was handed over to the legation, others contend that she was brought down from Mount Ida or from Pessinus.[204] Livy sticks to the latter tradition and mentions that even the original meteorite in which the Goddess was worshipped was handed over to the Romans. Ovid[205] tells a far more romantic story. Attalus was reluctant to see the Goddess depart, until she herself, through a minor earthquake, announced her personal decision from her sanctuary.[206] 'Let me go,' she exclaimed, 'Rome is a worthy residence

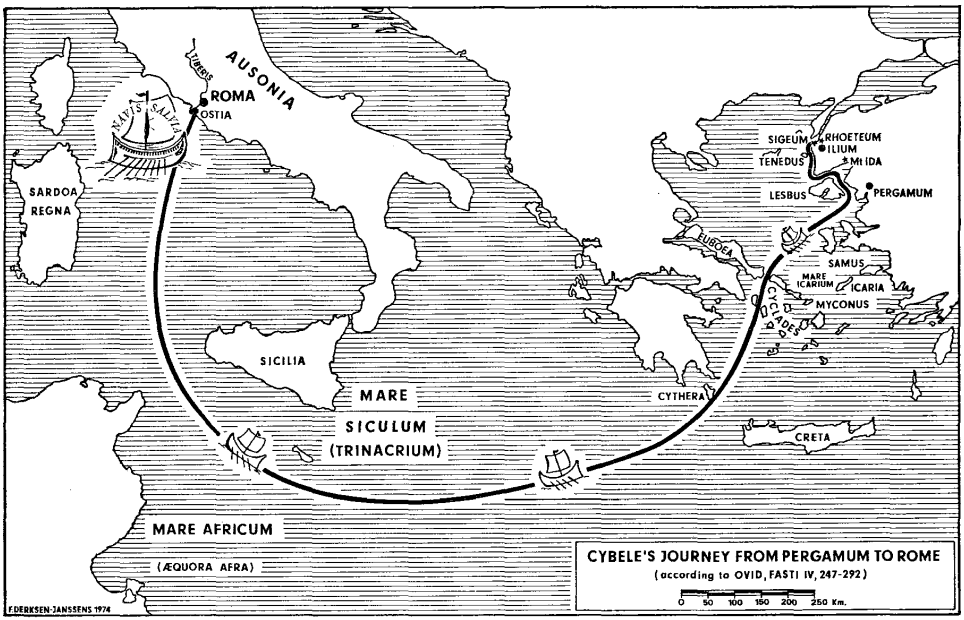


Fig. 13 Cybele's journey from Pergamum to Rome

for any deity!' Moreover Ovid, no doubt influenced by Vergil, weaves the associations with Troy into the story. Whereas Livy does not tell us anything about the progress of the return journey Ovid recounts it circumstantially (fig. 13). On a ship, built of pine-trees from Mount Ida, the Goddess was taken to the Hellespont (*Phrixeae stagna sororis*) past Rhoeteum and Sigeum, two promontories in the Troad. The journey was continued via Tenedos, Lesbos and the Cyclades to Carystos on the south side of Euboea. From there they proceeded to Cythera, dedicated to the goddess Venus, and thence to Sicily on the route to Ostia. Livy reports that M. Valerius Falto went ahead to Rome to herald the arrival.

The Delphic oracle had given explicit orders that the Goddess was to be welcomed in Rome by the best man in the state.[207] This posed a difficult problem, but the unanimous choice eventually fell on P. Cornelius Nasica, twenty-eight years old and still without political office, son of Cn. Scipio, who had died a heroic death on the battlefield in Spain in 212 BC, and nephew of P. Cornelius Scipio, the future Africanus, who himself strongly appealed to the imagination of the people. Livy's[208] description of the character of Africanus shows how the Scipiones managed to influence politics and religion.[209] Scipio Africanus never dealt with any political or private business without first going to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, withdrawing there in

seclusion for some time. The rumour went, as it had formerly done about Alexander the Great and would later do about the emperor Augustus, that he had been begotten by a gigantic serpent, i.e. that he was of divine descent. Livy adds that 'the belief in these miracles was never denied by Scipio himself; on the contrary he even rather encouraged it with a certain craftiness'.

After the choice of young Nasica, who could be appointed as the noblest woman of the country, to receive the Goddess? Most authors mention Claudia Quinta,[210] a sister of Appius Claudius, consul in 212 BC, although the name of Valeria occurs as well. Livy gives an unadorned account. On 6 April 204 BC the Goddess in the form of a stone arrived in Rome; the reception was solemn; thuribles had been placed along the roads; her statue was temporarily housed in the temple of Victoria on the Palatine. A banquet for the gods was held (*lectisternium*) and festivities, the Megalensia, were established and celebrated annually in April.

But the propaganda of prominent families, together with a desire immediately to ascribe miracles to the Goddess, had their influence. Thus gossip and jealousy questioned Claudia's unblemished character. When Scipio accepted the statue from the hands of the priests who had escorted her from Pessinus, it was taken by ship from Ostia up river to the gates of Rome. But the statue was heavy and the water was shallow: the ship ran aground, and could not be moved; but hardly had Claudia touched the rope (*exiguo conamine traxit*) than the vessel was refloated. Thus the Goddess herself supplied the evidence of Claudia's innocence. Centuries later a priestess, also named Claudia, commemorated this miracle in a relief[211] (pl. 30); coins and terracotta reliefs show the Goddess seated on a ship;[212] the *gens* Claudia, and in particular the emperor Claudius, favoured the Cybele cult. The ship was pulled as far as the Almo tributary; there the statue was bathed (*lavatio*), and then borne to the Palatine in a ceremonial procession. Here the Goddess is at last 'at home'; enthusiastically Ovid exclaims: *'in Phrygios Roma refertur avos* [Rome is traced back to its Phrygian ancestors]'. Troy was thus received in Rome.[213] Preparations were made to build a temple for her close to the site of the huts of the early settlers on the Palatine, the founders of Rome (fig. 14). They were found in 1948. Here too was the hut of Romulus. Thus it was on a very historical spot that the Goddess – Attis is not mentioned – was so worthily received.

The Metroon on the Palatine

When Cybele made her entry in Rome she was the Goddess who, coming from the old mother country, was to grant victory to the new. So it is hardly surprising that she was first temporarily housed in the temple of Victoria.[214] In the very same year the construction of a temple was entrusted to the censors M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero. After thirteen years – the long period was certainly due to the difficulties of those days – the building was dedicated by the praetor M. Junius Brutus on 10 April 191 BC.[215] The new excavations by Pietro Romanelli in 1951[216] showed that there is scarcely anything left of this building (pl. 31). The anniversary of the inauguration of this temple was celebrated annually.

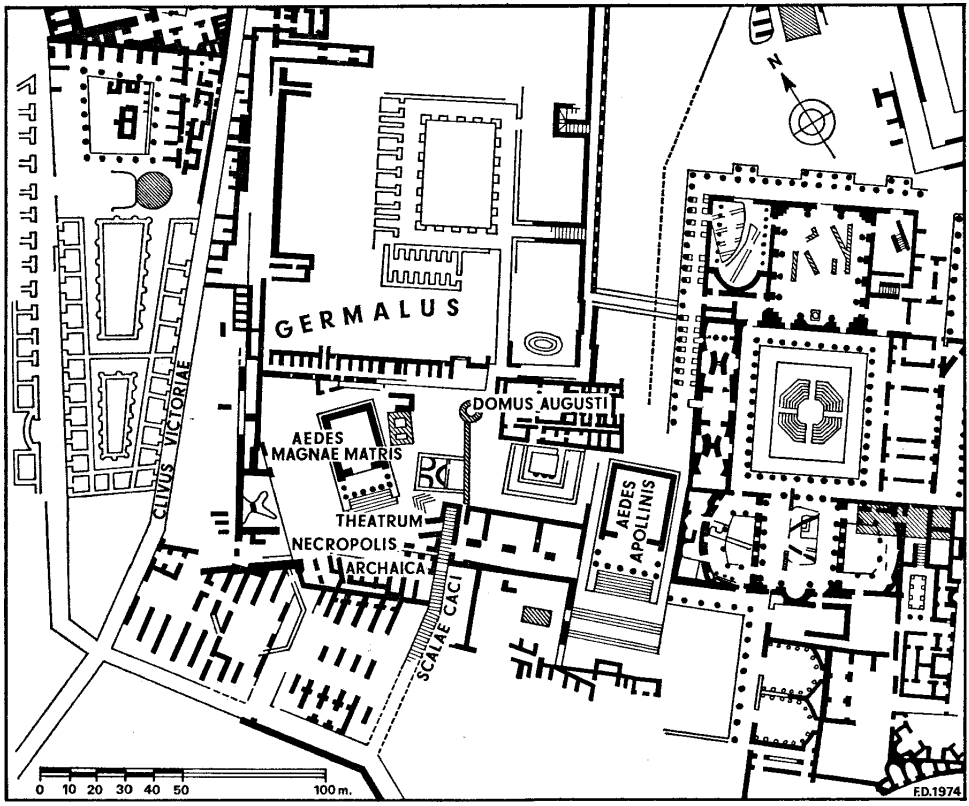


Fig. 14 The situation of the temple of Cybele (*aedes Magnae Matris*) on the Palatine

Nearly a hundred years after its foundation the temple was destroyed by fire; the writer Valerius Maximus[217] reports that this disaster left the statue of Claudia Quinta miraculously untouched. Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, the opponent of Jugurtha, rebuilt the temple in 110–109. Of this building some remnants are left, among them the core of the present building and part of the floor. A new restoration followed under the emperor Augustus after another fire.[218] Proudly he mentions in his own testament:[219] 'I have rebuilt the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.' As a descendant (through Julius Caesar) of the Julii, Augustus himself had always liked living near the early huts and close to the memories of Troy. However, the word *feci* 'I have made' is greatly exaggerated as evidently the emperor never had to repair the entire building, but only the *cella* (chamber) and the *pronaos* (vestibule); furthermore he confined himself to having the columns decorated with stucco.

The temple of Cybele is depicted on a relief,[220] at present in the Villa Medici and dating from the time of the emperor Claudius (pl. 32). This relief is a fragment of an

Ara Pietatis on the Via Lata (the present Corso) as proved by R. Bloch; it demonstrates the interest of the Claudii in the Cybele cult. It shows the front of the temple,[221] its pediment corners decorated with statues (*acroteria*) of shield-bearing kouretes, who are frequently found in the company of Cybele. The Goddess herself is represented merely symbolically: in the centre of the pediment there is a throne (*sella*) with a cushion on which the mural crown has been laid.[222] Under the seat is a footstool. On either side of the throne lies a figure, one arm resting on a tambourine, and in each corner a lion is standing with its head over a vessel (pl. 33).

Today a visitor to the Palatine, or to be more precise the Germalus, which is the part between the old huts and the house of Augustus, sees a high podium that is being steadily split apart by a holm-oak. The columns have collapsed, and the remnants of the drums are ranged on one side together with a marble statue of the Goddess, who is seated on a throne flanked by two lions.[223] A few altars with inscriptions, some from the second century AD, stand around.[224] In front of the temple, close to the so-called *Scalae Caci* (Steps of Cacus), the remains are visible of a theatre[225] that was used chiefly for the April festivities, the Megalensia.

The sanctuary was used until the fifth century AD. The historian Zosimus[226] narrates the story of Serena, daughter of Theodosius the Great, and wife of his minister, the Vandal Stilicho. She went into the temple, removed a beautiful necklace from the statue and hung it around her own neck. The last remaining Vestal Virgin, an old woman, happened to be in the temple, and courageously reprimanded Serena, pointing out the sacrilegious nature of her action.

The excavation of this temple, which began as far back as 1872, has not yet brought to light the black meteorite.[227] In fact this sacred place and its surroundings have never been thoroughly examined, although the 1952 excavations have brought some issues closer to a solution, such as the Attis question. It was generally assumed[228] that the Phrygian shepherd had not been worshipped alongside Cybele on the Palatine until the first century AD. But Romanelli has found a great number of terracottas (pl. 34), dating from the late-Republican times (first century BC), which show many types of this god: playing his shepherd's pipe; sitting on the mountain in winter; riding a ram. This shows that Attis did enjoy earlier worship in the temple, although it is certain that the official passion plays of the month of March were not organized until the reign of Claudius (p. 113).

Other Sacred Buildings of Cybele in Rome

In 1889 a house was excavated on the Coelius, the hill opposite the Palatine, which apparently belonged to a certain Manius Publicius Hilarus.[229] In this building, which had been erected in the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, the portrait was found of Hilarus himself, a pearl-merchant (*margaritarius*) (pl. 35). His name,[230] as well as those of his sons Magnus and Harmonianus, may point to a direct connection with Cybele (some think of the Hilaria festivities, and of the title of Magna Mater). However this may be, an inscription[231] proves that the house was a meeting place

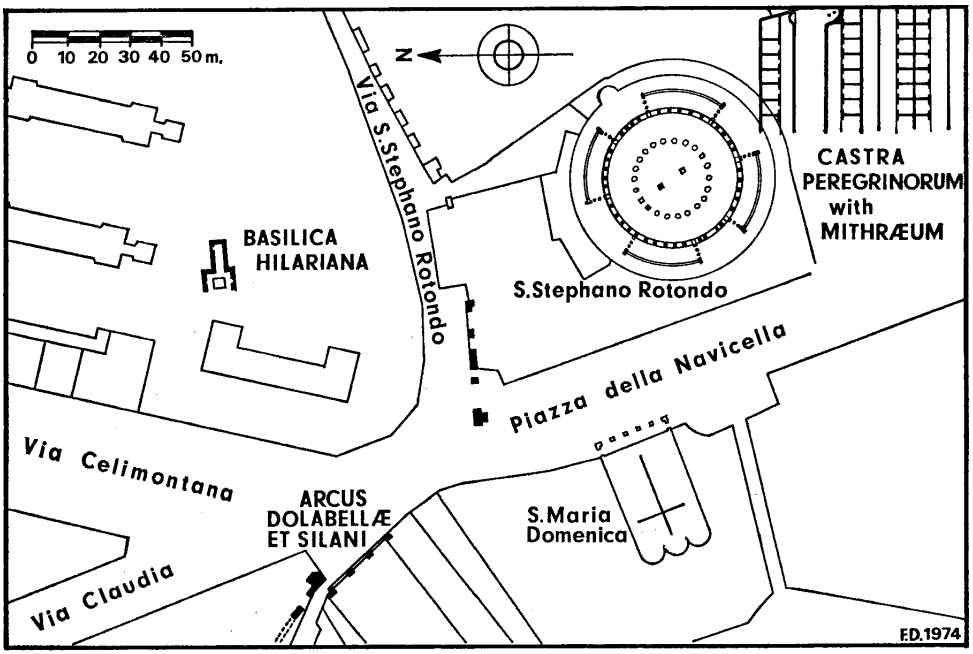


Fig. 15 The situation of the Basilica Hilariana on the Coelius in Rome

(*schola*) of the college of the tree-bearers (*dendrophori*). They probably were associated with the pine-wood, where every year on the occasion of the passion plays of Attis[232] they cut the sacred tree[233] (=Attis) and then bore it in procession to the Palatine (fig. 15).

Twelve steps lead down into the central hall (*atrium*), whose walls are for the greater part still standing. Half-way there is a brickwork base, to which a marble tablet had been attached with an inscription dedicated to Silvanus,[234] the woodland deity, and consequently in this case the god of the pine-wood. On the floor of the *atrium* lies a mosaic[235] with the Evil Eye (*malocchio*) in the centre; this has been pierced by an arrow, and is being attacked by all sorts of animals (fig. 16). However, an owl is perched over the eye as if to protect it. From this apartment an entrance leads into a much larger room. Near the door there is an inscription in mosaic: *intrantibus hic deos propitios et Basilic[ae] Hilarianae* (for those who here approach the propitious gods and those of the Basilica Hilariana). Next to it there is a well, which connects with a conduit, and there is moreover the pedestal of a statue of Hilarus, erected by the *collegium* of the tree-bearers of Cybele and Attis. It is a pity that the excavation of this large hall was discontinued when traces of earlier destruction came to light. It has a

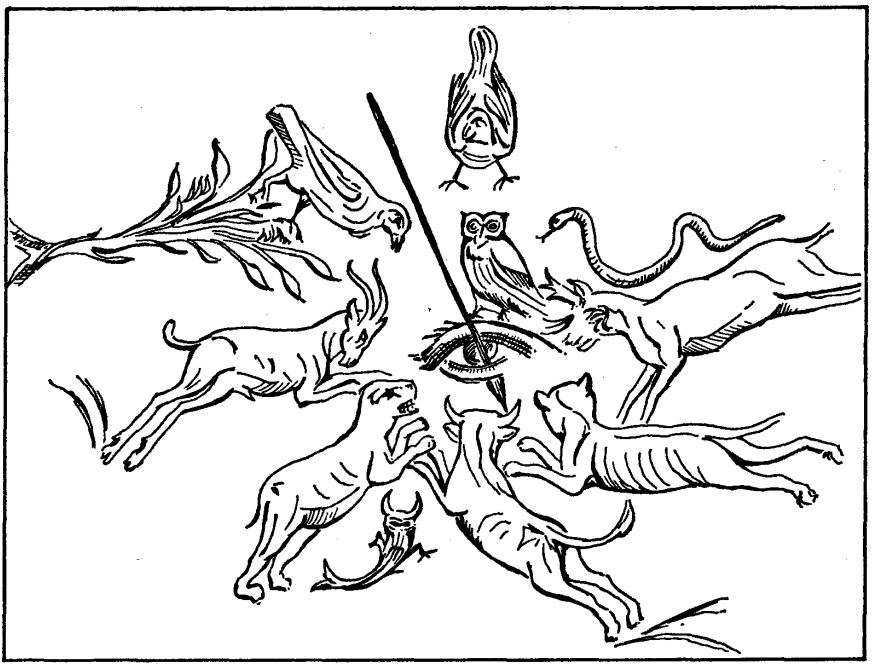


Fig. 16 Mosaic with a representation of the evil eye in the Basilica Hilariana in Rome

black and white mosaic with geometrical motifs, and in the middle there is a sort of rectangular basin, the purpose of which is uncertain.

A second but smaller building[236] for Cybele is displayed on a relief of the Haterii family, and on coins of the empress Faustina. It is a little round temple, which already existed at the time of Domitian and was restored by the emperor Antoninus Pius, Faustina's husband, in AD 142. It was situated in the Via Sacra[237] in the Forum Romanum, and, according to the relief, quite near the Arch of Titus. On the coins one sees the statue of Cybele between her two lions. This chapel was never of great importance.

The Phrygianum on the Vatican Hill

From a great number of inscriptions, in both Greek and Latin, we know that there was a sanctuary of Cybele and Attis on the other side of the Tiber, close to the Circus of Gaius (Caligula) and Nero (fig. 17). In an old description[238] of Rome it is referred to as the Phrygianum. Since in 1609 most of the altars were found below the

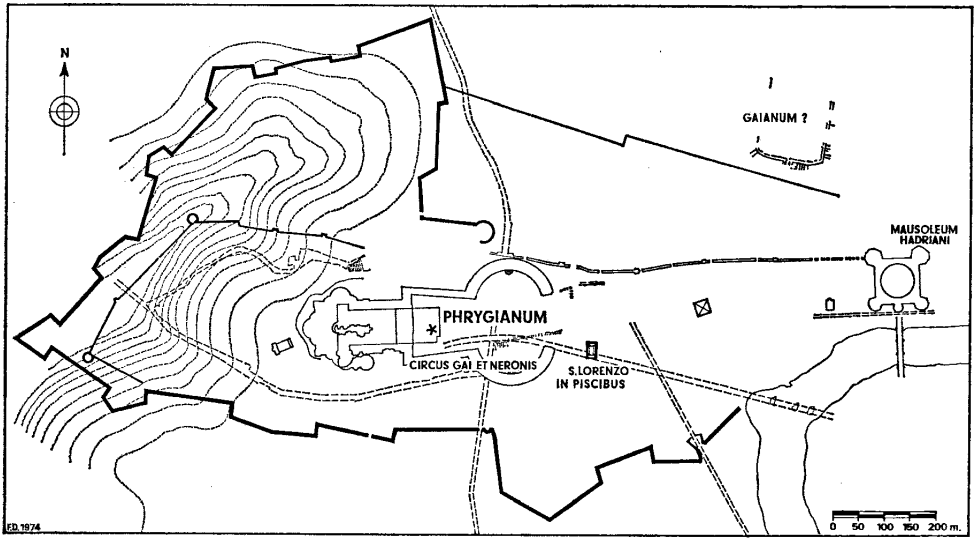


Fig. 17 The site of the Phrygianum near St Peter's in Rome

façade of St Peter's, on the Piazza San Pietro or in its immediate surroundings,[239] it must be assumed that the building was situated there. But up till now it has not been excavated. From the extent of the area throughout which these scattered finds were made it may be concluded that this temple, just like the one at Ostia, probably had sacred grounds, where the monuments stood in the open air. Practically all these altars had been erected to commemorate a *taurobolium* or a *criobolium*, and they are sometimes decorated with extremely beautiful reliefs. Consequently it is clear that these ceremonies were exclusively performed here on the Vatican Hill, and not on the Palatine (p. 101 ff.). Most of the altars date from the fourth century AD, but with a gap of twenty-eight years. Practically all archaeologists associate this period in which no altars were erected with the first construction of St Peter's by Constantine.[240] The enormous building activity in this area made it inconvenient for the followers of the 'Phrygian cult' to carry out their rites in peace. It is not known when exactly the Phrygianum was built, but it is highly probable that this took place under Antoninus Pius, if not earlier, in the first century under the emperor Claudius.[241] The sanctuary became so famous that soon Gaul (Lyons) and later Germany (Mainz-Kastell) each claimed to have its own Vaticanum, although in the case of Lyons many prefer to link the expression *ex Vaticano transtulit* (he transferred from the Vatican) with the Rome *Vaticanum*.[242] The days of the months on which *taurobolium* altars were erected are as follows: 12 March 377; 5 April 383 (twice); 14 April 305; 15 April 313; 19 April 319; 29 April 350; 13 May 377; 23 May 390 (twice); 16 June 370; 19 July 374 (twice); 13 August 376 (twice).

This clearly shows that all dedications took place in spring and in summer, whereas at Lyons and elsewhere winter dates, such as 8 December, are also found.[243] Many dedications took place in April during the Megalensia festivities or shortly after. The 15 April, for instance, was at the same time the feast of the plays of Ceres, a goddess related to Cybele.[244] According to the calendar[245] one of the oldest religious ceremonies was performed on 15 April. Cows in calf were slaughtered in honour of Tellus. The unborn calves were burned, the purpose of which seems to have been 'to procure the fertility of the corn now growing in the womb of mother earth'. On 13 May the Lemuria were held, a day to commemorate the dead, while on 13 August the anniversary of the dedication of the temple of Diana on the Aventine was celebrated.[246] Thus sometimes there is a clear connection between a dedication and a religious feast; in other cases the relationship, if any, escapes us.

The collection of altars from the Vatican sanctuary stems from a period in which the last defenders of the older philosophical thought and religion had to make way for that new and already officially recognized mystery cult from the East, whose most ardent champion at that moment was Ambrose, the bishop of Milan. In order to hold their own the supporters of the State religion combined in alliance with the members of the oriental societies. This is constantly noticeable from the contents of these inscriptions, which are, moreover, an interesting reflection of the cast of the religious thought of this 'conservative' faction. This way of thinking also finds expression in the symbols with which the sculptors adorned the altars. These are mostly a pine-tree, a shepherd's crook and the musical instruments of Attis. The heads of a ram and a bull allude to the ceremony which has just taken place. An altar, which is now lost but known from old drawings, shows on the sides a bull and a ram standing under a pine-tree, in the branches of which Attis' musical instruments and shepherd's crook are hanging. There is also an altar with Cybele herself holding a tambourine in her left hand riding past a pine-tree in her lion-chariot. On the other side Attis as shepherd is standing under the pine-tree (pl. 36), while on the back two burning torches with fillets (*infulae*) are depicted cross-wise over an augur's staff (*lituus*) or a shepherd's crook (*pedum*), a decanter (*urceus*), a libation bowl (*patera*) and a castanet (*crotalus*). Variations of all these are found.

Most of the inscriptions are metrical verses, composed by Cybele-followers of the highest senatorial rank, who tried to preserve the Greek and Roman poetic tradition.[247] Nowadays these poetic efforts are not always rated very highly, as they are too learned and artificial. In this strain the city-prefect Clodius Hermogenianus Caesarius dedicates an altar[248] to the Magna Mater, Hermes and Attis, and *augustis diis animae suae mentisque custodibus* (august and divine guardians of his soul and mind). On another altar[249] Caelius Hilarianus refers to the Goddess and her beloved as his keepers (*conservatores*), a title used by Cicero[250] for the immortal gods, who together with Jupiter were the *custodes* and *conservatores* of the State. So here is an example of a title from the State cult being transferred to private worship. It is also remarkable that the senator is a *duodecimvir* of the City of Rome, and priest of Mithras, Liber and Hecate. Quintus Clodius Flavianus, another senator-devotee of Cybele, likewise[251] combines the functions of high priest (*pontifex maior*), *quindecimvir* supervising the sacrificial rites

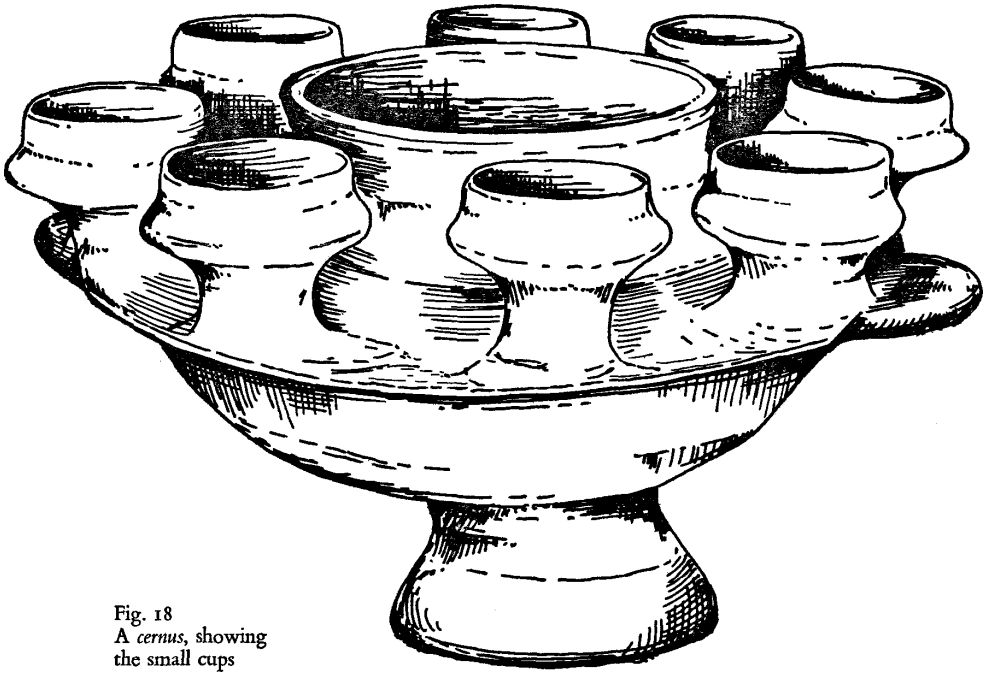


Fig. 18
A *cernus*, showing the small cups

(*XV vir sacris faciundis*), *septemvir* for the organization of the sacred banquets in honour of the gods, and finally priest of the Sun god (*pontifex solis*), which may account for his dedication on the sun's official feast day, 5 April. It was probably on this same day that the wife of Flavianus (on the inscription her name is lost) dedicated an altar[252] to the almighty (*omnipotentes*) Cybele and Attis, whose high priestess (*sacerdus maxima*) she was. The senator Ulpius Egnatius Faventius[253] is in the first place head (*pater*) of the Mithras community, for to this god his inscription pays the greatest attention. Furthermore he is an *augur* or one who tells fortunes from the flights of the birds, supreme shepherd (*archibuculus*) of the god Liber or Bacchus, official teacher of the rites (*hierofanta*) of Hecate, and finally priest (*sacerdos*) of the Egyptian Isis. Faventius ends his inscription with a little poem of four lines in which he makes an allusion to the bull-killing, thus referring to Mithras, the bull-slayer, and to the *taurobolium* at the same time. The sculptor, however, has made a slight 'slip of the chisel' by writing *archibuculus* instead of *archibucolus*, just as in the previous inscription the priestess had been misspelled *sacerdus* instead of *sacerdos*.

On another altar,[254] now lost, which was dedicated to the high and mighty deities Cybele and Attis, Sarapias (note the Egyptian cult-name) mentions that she, as a

priestess of the Goddess and of Proserpina, had attended a *taurobolium* and a *criobolium*, at which presumably the testicles (*vires*) of the animals had been caught up in a *caernus*. Such a *caernus* or *cernus* consists of a series of small cups that have been joined together to form a dish, and is used particularly in the mysteries of Demeter and Proserpina at Eleusis (fig. 18). But Sarapias also happened to be a priestess of Proserpina, and so here, at a rite of the Cybele cult, she had brought the *cernus* for her purpose. The rite was performed by Flavius Antonius Eustochius, a Phrygian high priest (*sacerdotem phrygem maximum*) in the presence of the college of the fifteen (*collegium XV virorum sacris faciundis*). Now it has always been assumed[255] that Eustochius was an archigallus of the Vatican temple, but Thomas interprets *sacerdos maximus* as a separate title, like the *sacerdos summus* of the poet Prudentius.[256] The fact that the college of *quindecimviri* was present should not surprise us because, as we shall see, in Puteoli and Cumae they had an official voice in the cult.[257]

Together with his wife Rufina Volusiana the senator Petronius Apollodorus, head of the Mithras cult, erected a beautifully decorated altar; the practical part of the inscription is in Latin, while their enthusiasm for Cybele and Attis is written in Greek verse. 'Apollodorus' means 'gift of Apollo' and this priest is quite proud of his name, witness the poem:[258]

> Mother of *all* that exists
> For Thou and for Rhea, goddess of origin,
> For Thou, highest Attis, that spanst *all* creation,
> That at *all* times makest *all* thrive,
> After dedication both by ram's and bull's blood equally
> He erected as Mystes [an initiate] an altar,
> The bearer of a holy dedication
> To Apollo's gift owing his name.

This poem clearly emphasizes the omnipotence of Cybele and her beloved Attis. For the Goddess, who since time immemorial had been identified with Rhea, ruled all Nature and all that lives and dies. This power is also beautifully praised in a prayer to Mother Earth (*precatio Terrae Matris*) of the third century AD.[259] 'Holy Goddess Earth', the poet exclaims,

> Nature's mother, who bringeth *all* [*cuncta*] to life, and revives all from day to day. The food of life Thou grantest in eternal fidelity. And when the soul hath retired we take refuge in Thee. All that Thou grantest falls back somewhere into Thy womb.

This poem is rather similar to the line of verse which *c.* AD 200 the Father of the Mithras mysteries, as predecessor of Petronius Apollodorus, had written on the walls of the Mithraeum under S. Prisca's Basilica on the Aventine, in honour of the Roman goddess, Pales:[260]

> *Fecunda tellus cuncta qua generat Pales*
> (Fertile earth, through which Pales procreates all).

In the Vatican poem Attis is called the Supreme God (*hypsistos*). Franz Cumont explained fifty years ago[261] that this title was derived from the synagogue. Cybele and Attis are truly omnipotent gods (*dei omnipotentes*), and in the case of Attis, this is emphasized by the words 'that spanst all creation'. This expression belongs to the language of the mystery religions and eventually goes back to the Stoa.[262]

Unfortunately little is known of Petronius Apollodorus, but his wife was a daughter of C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius, another renowned advocate of the preservation of pagan religion.[263] Of her sister Sabina a little poem is known,[264] inscribed on an altar that she had probably erected in the Vatican in the year 377. Here again Greek is the poetic language whereas the prosaic details are given in Latin:

As a symbol of sacred mysteries
I, Sabina, here erected
To Attis and Rhea
An altar for ever,
Daughter of Lampadius,
and so of an honourable person.
Deo's orgies
and the terrifying
Hekate nights
I experienced.

Sabina is a faithful follower of her father in his religious zeal. She has read her Homer, for she uses the word 'proud, haughty' (*μεγαλήτωρ*), which in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* is used for heroes. But to Sabina her father is the hero. And now she has secretly composed this little poem at home, she has read it out to her family, and then she has it perpetuated for us on this altar.

Then there is a third interesting Greek poem[265] which must stem from the Phrygianum and is decorated with the symbols of the Phrygian cult. As often in antiquity the altar itself recites the poem:

The works, the intelligence and the deeds,
The excellent course of life and complete nobility
Of Gamalius' mind I present as sacrifice.
He brought in honour of Deo's resurgent lover
Again a robust bull and a ram,
Symbol of salvation.
For after twenty-eight years of tranquil repose
He chased the night and brought the light again.

H. J. Rose[266] has pointed out that a hymn from Iran[267] shows a certain relationship with the first lines of this poem. If the similarity is neither coincidental nor direct, then it is probably the result of the influence of the Mithras cult. But the words 'intelligence and mind of Gamalius' point in the direction of *mens* = mind of the Latin inscription from the Vatican, which was discussed above.[268] Twenty-eight years had passed before Gamalius *again* (*πάλι*) sacrificed a bull and a ram to the *re*surgent (*παλίνορσος*) Attis. Normally a *taurobolium* was repeated every twenty years.[269] This

is the reason why this long interruption is associated with the construction of St Peter's.[270] In the last line of the poem darkness and light are contrasted, and this sharp contraposition may also be attributed to the doctrine of the Mithras mysteries.[270a]

Finally it is worthwhile to consider an inscription that was found in 1606[271] and is now lost. In this case it is two priests who erected an altar with a Greek poem in honour of the Mother of the Gods. Here we have once more a pun on Crescens = waxing with his country, the Levant:

> One of the men of fifteen, of Phoebus the crown-wearing priest,
> Crescens and sacrosanct Leontius, both men of special wisdom,
> The one from the country of the rising, the other from that of the setting sun,
> Both celebrated the mysteries in honour of Rhea, the all-Mother and Goddess,
> The excellent dedication by the mystic blood of ram and bull
> And an altar they erected on the spot.

Leontius seems to be unknown, but Crescens was a relative of the orator Libanius, and deputy governor (*vicarius*) of Africa in the period of 370–72. Crescens was both priest of the Sun god and *quindecimvir*, so he was a member of the committee that officially supervised the foreign cults. Now it seems practically certain that these two followers of Cybele were also Fathers (*patres*) of the Mithras mysteries, not only because they are both called very wise men, like the Magi teachers (*magistri*) of this cult,[272] but especially on account of the allusion to their origin. On the right wall of the S. Prisca Mithraeum the seven degrees of the cult are depicted, each with its own symbol. The Fathers are under the patronage of Saturn,[273] and the painted legend (*dipinto*) is a greeting to all Fathers from East to West (*ab oriente ad occidentem*). And the remarkable fact is that here two such priests from East and West act together. Were they connected with the Mithraic sanctuary on the Aventine?

From an inscription from Die (*Dea Augusta*) in Gaul[274] we know that sometimes the altar was ritually erected on the spot where the *vires* of bull or ram were buried (*loco vires conditae*). Crescens and Leontius seem to have done this symbolically.

The Goddess of the Circus Maximus

As we have seen, the Phrygian Goddess is one of the many shapes of Mother Earth. From her womb comes forth life, be it man, animal or plant. She procreates everything; but for her potency nothing can be born, nor come to fruition. But all that proceeds from the earth will once again return into her womb, lest the perpetual cycle be broken. Thus Cybele became a Goddess of the Dead, whom she had first granted life, and now takes under her protection again.

When the Roman nobility in 204 BC promised a temple to the Goddess a carefully selected site was chosen on the Palatine, where she could feel at home in every respect. This place was the Germalus, the western hill-top, which surveys the Circus Maximus in the direction of the Aventine. It has often been assumed[275] that the Circus Maximus owes its existence to the games (*ludi*) that after Etruscan and Greek custom were originally held there in honour of a deceased hero. In this connection one should not

forget the extensive funeral games which Achilles organized in honour of his comrade in arms, Patroclus, nor the multi-coloured and vivid paintings in the tombs of the Etruscan cities of the dead, Tarquinia and Chiusi. By applying a special power, by performing special feats and even by shedding blood a friend tries magically to transfer his vigour and life to the earth and to the deceased; the latter will feel nourished and strengthened by the energy of his surviving friends, who render him this last service by means of games.

On account of this function the elongated racecourse of the Circus,[276] traditionally in use since the time of the kings, was now placed under the protection of the Death Goddess, and virtually incorporated into her temple grounds. During the Circus games on the occasion of the Megalensia in April[277] the statue was brought hither from the temple, and from her throne the Goddess could then watch the exciting races. In this way she became the patroness of the games, which were held in her honour once a year. But also on other occasions when the four Roman chariot-racing factions (*factiones*) joined issue to the loud cheering of their supporters the Goddess was present. Representations in mosaic, on coins, lamps and sarcophagi (not by chance!) that depict the fierce strife in the Circus Maximus show the statue of a lion-riding Cybele[278] on the *spina* (axial rib of the Circus enclosure, dividing the area into two runs) which the clattering chariots had to round seven times. All the monuments agree in showing the leaping lion, but for the rest they show divergences, which raises the question whether they depict the Circus Maximus or some local circus, for which the great Circus of Rome had been the model. However, it is worthwhile to try and discover the true nature of the statue on the *spina*.

Starting with a representation from Rome itself we have a sarcophagus which is now in the Vatican Museums.[279] With her right hand the Goddess holds a veil (*velum*) that billows out with the wind caused by the lion's speed: in her left hand she has a sceptre. As on most representations she wears a long garment, and has a mural crown on her head. The statue, turned to the right, is placed on the right-hand side of the obelisk of Augustus (now in the Piazza del Popolo).

Another sarcophagus from Foligno and preserved there, dating from the third century AD, is more explicit.[280] Again the roaring chariots (*quadrigae*) are seen tearing round the *spina* of the Circus, marked at each end by turning-posts (*metae*). Here too the statue of the Goddess is on the right of the obelisk, and the gesture of the right hand is the same, but the sceptre is nowhere to be seen. The strong similarity of the two representations is confirmed by coins of the emperor Trajan, who may have had this statue erected, probably in bronze.

Two mosaics that were found outside Rome in the villas of rich Roman citizens are different. The first has been known since 1860, and is housed in the Museum of Barcelona.[281] The eager charioteers urge their horses, bearing high-sounding names, on to victory. The turning-posts, the columns, the little building with the stairs to the roof with the eggs to count the seven laps, are all elements we find on the *spina* in Rome. Therefore it may safely be assumed that the artist has tried to depict the Circus Maximus, though with a few deviations. Cybele has no mural crown, with her left hand she seems to hold a leash round the neck of the leaping lion; her right hand is not

raised towards her head, but stretched out. Moreover the lion serves as a gargoyle. Beyond the statue are two palm-trees, which in the relief occur only as an undefinable foliage. A further important difference is that the statue is now to the left of the obelisk, of which here only the lower part has been depicted.

Secondly there is a mosaic[282] that was only recently uncovered in the luxurious villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily. It is still a matter of controversy as to who was the owner of the villa, which has unfortunately obtained considerable fame mainly on account of the 'ladies in bikinis with fans', and as the ownership is doubtful, so is the date of its mosaics. However, most archaeologists are inclined to attribute the imposing palazzo to a very high magistrate or even to an emperor, possibly Maximianus Herculius, of the end of the third, or the early part of the fourth century whose residence or holiday-house it was. The owner certainly displayed nostalgia for the excitement of the races in the Roman Circus. On the floor of an elongated hall with an apse on either side there is a mosaic (pl. 37), which has been adapted to the shape of the room, probably an exercise ground (*palaestra*). The race is again run by four factions of charioteers, but this mosaic shows more details. It depicts the start of the contest and the competitors charging forth from the opened starting-gates of the stalls (*carceres*). In his seat of honour on the grandstand the host (*editor ludi*) himself is present. Then follows the wild rush round the *spina*, the wheels, according to Horace, becoming red-hot, and then the finish, which proves the Green faction (*prasina*) victorious, followed by the Reds (*russata*) and then the Blues (*veneta*) and Whites (*albata*), all of them fanatically cheered by their supporters. The horn-blower (*tubicen*) sounds a signal on a long trumpet, and the magistrate at his side prepares to present the palm-branch to the winning charioteer (*auriga*). They are both standing to the right of and beyond the obelisk of Augustus, and to the left of it the Magna Mater, riding her leaping lion, is visible though the statue does not face to the right as usual but to the left; for the rest it shows the traditional features.

The date at which this statue, which was lost much later, was erected on the *spina* is still obscure. Dio Cassius[283] mentions an enlargement and embellishment of the Circus by Trajan and, as the statue of Cybele happens to figure on his coins, this is a likely occasion. It is not known whether Trajan was an ardent champion of the Cybele cult, but he may have been induced to assign this place of honour to the Goddess by his inclination to uphold tradition in religious matters, since Cybele had become a national goddess, especially on account of encouragement shown by his predecessors Augustus and Claudius. In the time of Antoninus Pius, who was a devoted worshipper of Cybele,[284] the statue certainly influenced the coin types which portray his wife, Faustina, and his daughter, Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus. Politically, these two princesses were brought into direct relationship with Cybele as formerly Livia had been. The Goddess is depicted with mural crown, holding her drapery with her left hand, the lion leaping to the right. A novelty is the tambourine which the Goddess holds with her right hand, resting it on the back of the lion (pl. 38). At the same time it should be borne in mind that the more popular version of Cybele quietly riding her lion (fig. 19) shows more differences from the statue on the *spina* than similarities to it.

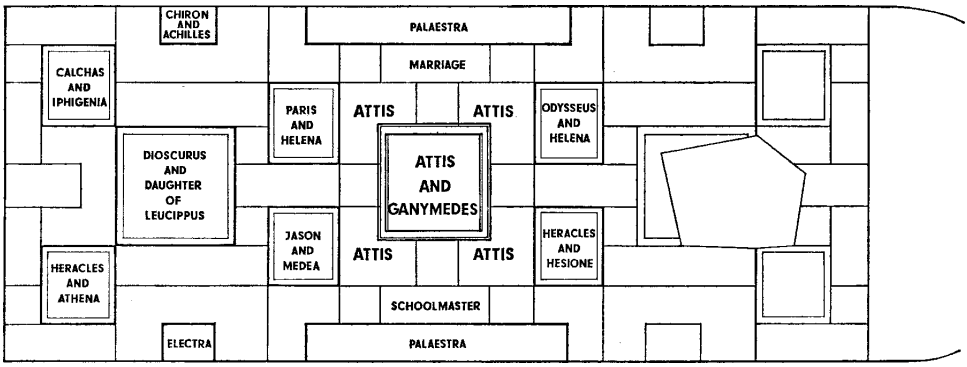
Fig. 19 Cybele riding a lion

The *Hypogaeum* near the Porta Maggiore

During World War I a subterranean building (*hypogaeum*) was discovered near the Porta Maggiore, on the road from Rome to Praeneste (*Via Praenestina*). The building[285] is accessible by a long sloping corridor, at the end of which, on the left, is an entrance hall. Beyond it lies a long room, divided into three aisles by rows of columns and ending in an apse, which faces east. Thus it is not surprising that the ground-plan of this building has been compared with a Christian basilica. The French Academician Jérôme Carcopino[286] relates how he was interrupted in his research by a tourist who asked him: 'This is a church, isn't it?' His answer was direct: 'Indeed, this is a pagan church.' Carcopino was absolutely convinced that a meeting place of the sect of the Neopythagoreans had been discovered, built here during the reign of Claudius on a piece of land belonging to L. Statilius Taurus.[287] Having to face a charge of practising magic Taurus committed suicide and his estate was confiscated. All the same, there have been some doubts of late about the clever explanation of the French scholar and his followers,[288] and sometimes even the older interpretation that it had been a sepulchral vault,[289] or possibly a festive hall,[290] is now questioned. How is it possible that the basilica has been explained in such totally different ways? The answer is to be found in the exceptionally fine artistic stuccos with which ceiling and walls are virtually covered (fig. 20). This decoration provides a unique repertory of mythological representations.

Attempts to reconcile these variant scenes with the purpose of the building have not always been convincing, and a number of them are still unexplained. One aspect is beyond dispute: a great many refer to the Hereafter and such symbolism befits a church as well as a sepulchral vault, where one meets to commemorate the dead, or a mausoleum.[291] G. De Sanctis[292] once suggested that the building might have belonged to some oriental sect, as it contains four representations of Attis. It is striking that – in a

Fig. 20 A plan of the ceiling of the *hypogaeum* near the Porta Maggiore, showing the arrangement of the mythological scenes



more general sense – many of the scenes refer to real or mythological events that took place in Asia Minor (Medea – Marsyas – Odysseus – Sappho, etc.). On closer inspection it can be seen that one of the main scenes on the vault of the nave concentrates on the Phrygian cult, which could lead to the supposition that the building was in some way connected with the members of a community that endowed Attis with a funerary character, for on the ceiling there is a large rectangular panel, surrounded by four mourning Attis figures (pl. 39) and then again Attis, but this time winged and with burning torch, bearing the young cup-bearer Ganymede up to heaven (pl. 40). Thus the shepherd (*pastor*), Attis, leads another Phrygian shepherd, Ganymede, to immortality.[293] The artist has here assigned the part of Zeus himself to Attis, who grants Ganymede eternal youth.[294] So F. L. Bastet's[295] suggestion that the building might well have been erected in honour of a deceased youth may be correct. But let us first look somewhat further. A counterpart of the Attis-Ganymede scene is a similar panel, on which one of the Dioscuri, recognizable by his conical cap (*pilos*), abducts one of Leucippus' two daughters. Castor and Pollux marry the two girls, Phoebê (Sunbeam) and Hilaeira (Moonbeam).[296] Every time that these two sons of Zeus[297] together repair alternately to heaven and to the Underworld the Leucippides share this bliss.[298] So here it is a young woman that is being raised to immortality. One begins to wonder whether this expensive monument was erected in order to commemorate the early death of a young married couple, whose love was so tragically cut short. This new hypothesis is supported by the other scenes. Around the two main moments of immortalization (a third panel was left blank) various aspects of life have been depicted: school and education, realistically (schoolmaster, ball game, etc.), and mythologically (Achilles' education by Cheiron); street scenes, and a detailed picture of a wedding. Six other panels tell of an unhappy love, or of a fatal meeting: Calchas and Iphigeneia, Heracles and Athene, Paris and Helen, Jason and Medea, Odysseus and Helena, Heracles and Hesione. Moreover the main scene in the apse displays the moment at which Sappho, despairing of earthly love, throws herself from the Leucadian rock to be taken up, purified, into the loving warmth of Apollo's light. And is not Attis himself the prototype of an unhappy love affair? Man can be delivered only by death from these earthly carnal torments, according to the message of consolation taught by the Stoics and other philosophers. The teachings in this fascinating monument of art have been drawn from many sources: from Greek mythology with stories from Greece or Asia Minor, from Homer and the tragedies, the traditional textbooks of youth; from the country of the Nile (masks of Amon; Alexandrian influence); from the mysteries of Dionysus (Bacchants); from the mystery cults (woman reading a sacred scroll); from the contemporary art repertory. In short, one is faced with an amalgam of motifs and conceptions of the Hellenistic world of thought, as they had merged in Rome during the first century AD. But the fact that at such an early stage[299] Attis had already been allotted so redeeming a role has hitherto not been generally accepted. The objection, raised by Pieter Lambrechts,[300] that Attis would not have been received into the State cult so early, need not be accepted, since this hypothesis has been disproved by Romanelli's finds on the Palatine.[301] Neither is it possible to deny the existence of a winged Attis after the finds

of several similar statuettes. The symbolic significance of Attis had been elaborated much further than had previously been surmised.[302]

Rome – Almo – Via Appia

Practically every art collection in Rome boasts a monument of the Cybele cult (pl. 29).[303] Although these works of art vary greatly in character, they usually have one thing in common, which is that their provenance is unknown. This is a disadvantage, depriving any archaeological document, however artistic, of part of its scientific value. If the site is known, further excavations can be undertaken, which may supply evidence for the existence of a sanctuary of the Goddess, or information about the surroundings in which she was worshipped. A good example of this is the marble sepulchral relief in the Galleria delle Statue[304] of the Vatican Museums. According to the inscription it represents Laberia Felicla (pl. 41), high priestess of the Great Mother of the Gods of Mount Ida (*sacerdos maxima Matris deum magnae Idaeae*). The relief dates from the first century AD, and the sculptor has rendered Felicla against the delicate background of a fan-like shell, from which her noble shape seems to emerge. The garments of the priestess hang down in gracious folds and on her head she wears a veil. Round her neck hangs a chain with a huge locket on which Zeus himself has been depicted. In her left hand she holds a laurel garland. She has been portrayed at the moment of emptying a libation bowl over a small altar on which a fruit-offering has already been laid out. But the provenance is not proved.

In the course of time many monuments have been moved abroad, torn from their natural environment, but thanks to the care of the art-loving Vatican Felicla has remained in Rome. The relief may have stood in a temple or in a grave (*sepulchrum*), such as the tomb that another priestess of the Magna Mater of Mount Ida, Aelia Antigona,[305] had had erected during her life for herself and for her dearly beloved (*dulcissimo*) husband, Epulonius Felicissimus, for their freedmen and descendants. The inscription of this sepulchral monument is written in faulty Latin, Aelia Antigona herself probably being a freedwoman of oriental origin. The piece was found in St Paul's Outside the Walls in 1725. In this same basilica was found an epitaph[306] in honour of a certain Chrysopoedus, which had been drawn up by the college (*sodales*) of dancers (*ballatores*) of Cybele. This burial ground lies close to the bank of the Tiber, and near the road to Ostia (*Via Ostiensis*). At the foot of the Aventine, and likewise on the bank of the Tiber, two monuments were unearthed that both relate to Cybele's arrival in 204 BC. One[307] depicts Cybele sitting on the ship, and the story of Claudia Quinta; the other piece[308] is a simple dedication. Both were dedicated by Claudia Syntyche, who recalls the rescuing ship (*navis salvia*) arriving at the time of distress. Was there a small sanctuary of the Goddess here at the foot of the Aventine? Do the epitaphs of St Paul's come from this community, or are they connected with a small sanctuary situated at the confluence of the Almo and the Tiber (fig. 21) where the ritual bathing (*lavatio*) of Cybele's cult-statue took place annually on 27 March? Although this chapel on the Almo[309] has not yet been found, it must lie in the im-

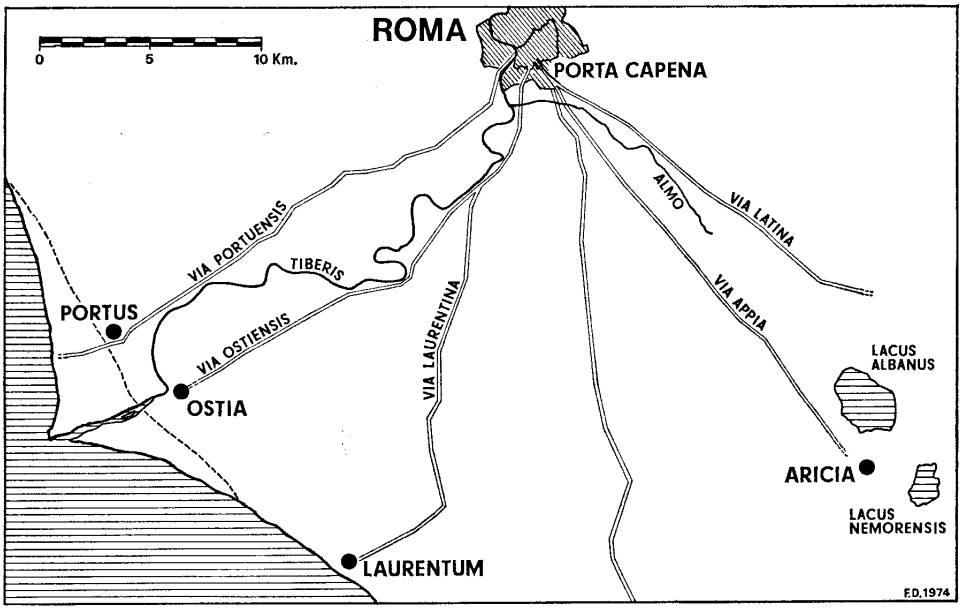


Fig. 21 Centres of the Cybele cult near Rome

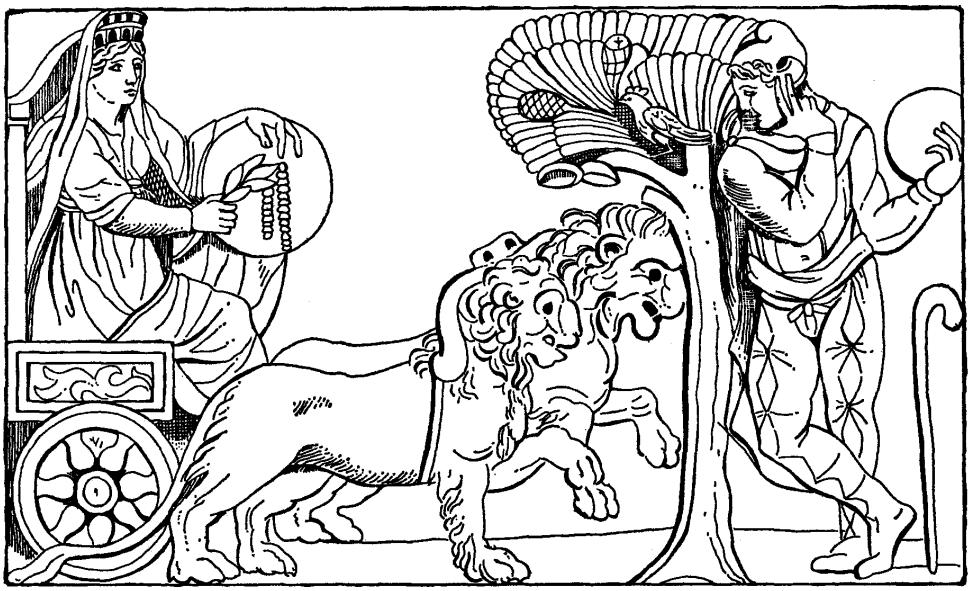
mediate vicinity of the little church of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, unless St Urban himself has taken Cybele's place; for from here another terracotta relief[310] again depicts the 'state entry' of Cybele on her ship. Several specimens similar to this representation have been discovered in Ostia; thus the type is practically restricted to this area, where the Goddess had performed her first miracle.

Following the course of the Almo one comes to the Via Appia. An epitaph,[311] found on the estate of relatives of Flavia Domitilla and Flavius Clemens (end of the first century AD), has led to the assumption that this was a meeting place of a community of Cybele and Attis worshippers, the deceased having been one of them. This company is also thought to have been connected with the chapel on the Almo. What now is the case? A certain Hector, jockey and wrestler (*flectere doctus equos, nitida certare palaestra*), who in hexameters boasts of his accomplishment in telling jokes, of his craftiness in deception and of his knowledge of loyalty (*ferre iocos, astu fallere, nosse fidem*), lies here in a burial mound (*tumulus*) which had no doubt been erected by his patroness, on her ground. He is an oriental from Asia Minor, and now he begs of his friends, who worship Cybele and mourn for the Phrygian Attis (*qui colitis Cybelen et qui Phrygia plangitis Attin*), to mourn for him, too, as soon as they have a little time to spare (*dum vacat*) in the dead silence of the night (*et tacita Dindyma nocte silent*). As the Ghent school of Lambrechts attributes the Attis festivities to a reform by Antoninus Pius one should not – according to E. van Doren[312] – regard this inscription as an

allusion to such a feast-day, on which Attis was mourned, but this has rightly been questioned by Ch. Picard.

On the Via Appia, between St Sebastian's and the tomb of Caecilia Metella, lay the estate of L. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus, who had a large altar for Serapis,[313] and two for Cybele and Attis, erected in his gardens. The two altars make mention of a *taurobolium* and *criobolium*. Since we know that these ceremonies only took place in the Phrygianum near the Vatican Orfitus possibly had had the altars originally put up there, and moved them later – for reasons of security – to his own property. Another possibility is that this Scipio had originally built the altars, such as the Serapis one, in his gardens to have a private sanctuary there. The altars are true masterpieces, decorated with the symbols of Attis. On the front of one of them,[314] dedicated on 26 February 295, Cybele in her lion-chariot is riding towards her beloved Attis, who is leaning against a pine-tree (fig. 22). Another pine-tree, together with a bull in full array and a ram, is depicted at the back of the altar. On the knotty branches of the tree various birds are perched, and various attributes are hanging there: the shepherd's pipe, a pair of cymbals, a dish, a wicker-bottle and a bucket (pl. 42). On the right side of the altar is depicted the curved Phrygian *cornu* and a straight pipe (*tibia*) depicted cross-wise; two crossed torches with cymbals decorate the other side. On the second altar,[315] from *c.* AD 295, Orfitus (this time not wrongly spelled Oreitus as on the

Fig. 22 Attis and Cybele on a *taurobolium*-altar of the Phrygianum in the Vatican

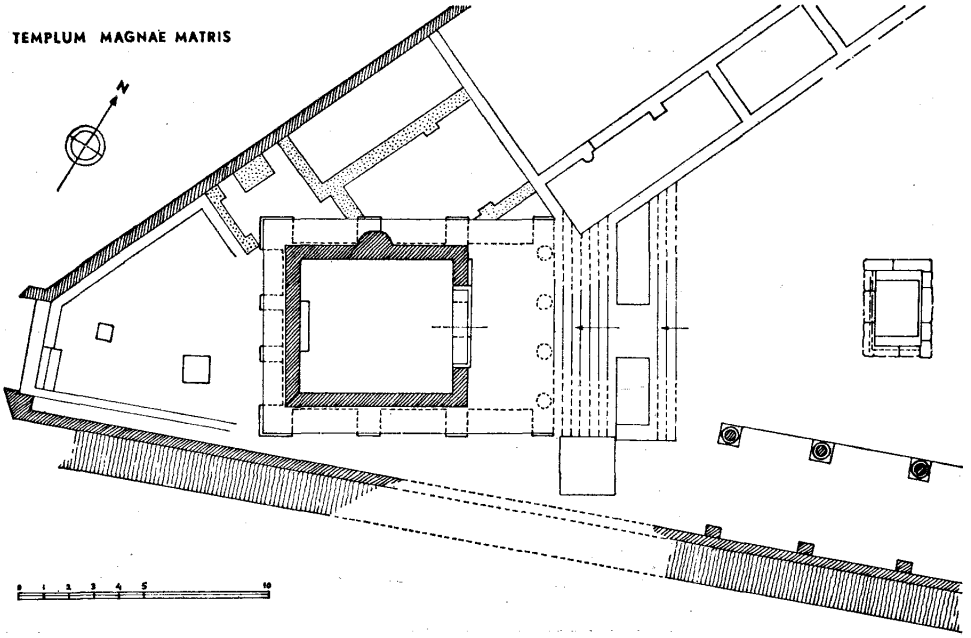


afore-mentioned altar) proudly announces that he is a senator and an augur, and that, fulfilling his pledge, he has submitted to the *taurobolium* and *criobolium*. This altar, which only bears symbols, is much simpler yet exceptionally graceful. The front commemorates Attis by depicting symbolically his Phrygian cap and shepherd's crook. The left side displays a motif of two crossed torches and a tambourine, while the right side shows again the two crossed pipes, bound together with a ribbon from which two cymbals are hanging. Thus this patriotic Scipio remained true to the cult of Cybele, whom his ancestors had brought to Rome, living as he did in a world that would soon see decisive changes.

The Campus Magnae Matris in Ostia

Since Cybele first arrived at the port of Ostia and was solemnly received there, one would think that after the inauguration of her temple on the Palatine a sanctuary would have been built in her honour at Ostia itself. But there is no evidence to support this assumption. It has been presumed that in late-Republican times Ostia did possess

Fig. 23 The site of the temple of Cybele in the triangular *campus* at Ostia



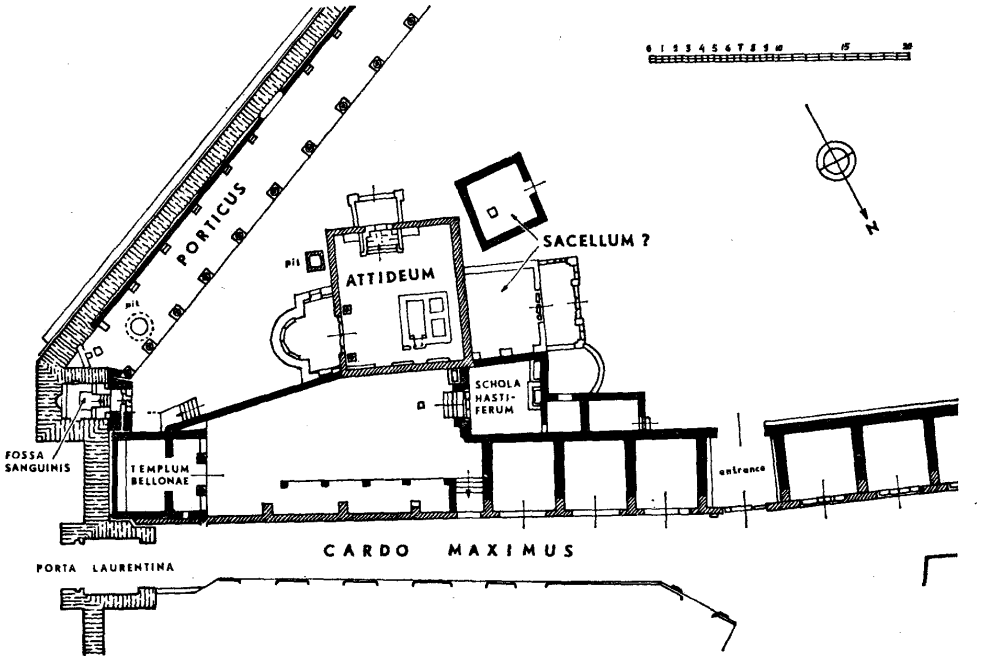


Fig. 24 The Attis shrine and surrounding buildings in Ostia

a shrine for the Goddess, but the present temple dates from a much later period, which according to Becatti[316] and Meiggs[317] might well be the time of Hadrian.

The discovery in 1867 of a large statue of a reclining Attis,[318] at present in the Vatican Museums (pl. 44), showed the archaeologist Guido Calza[319] exactly where the sanctuary had been situated. Between 1938 and 1940 he made a renewed systematic examination of a considerable area close to the eastern town-gate of the road to Laurentum (*Porta Laurentina*) and discovered a triangular plot of land, which was demarcated by a colonnade on the side of Sulla's city-wall. In the west corner he found a temple of Cybele (fig. 23), whereas on the other side just in front of the gate a separate sanctuary for Attis came to light (fig. 24). It is remarkable that at Lyons[320] in Gaul a similar triangular area with a temple for the Goddess was found, obviously copied from the Ostia example (fig. 31).

All that is left of the Metroon is the high base (*podium*) with its steps. The temple is thought to have had a portico, a façade with four columns and a *cella*. There are no traces of either floor or cult-statue; along the steps are balustrades filled with soil in which probably flowers had been planted, while the two sides are marked by arched niches. In front of the temple, in the field (*campus*), a large altar and some votive

altars are still standing. The row of rooms that borders the west side of the grounds may possibly have served as living quarters for the temple staff, since several inscriptions mention the colleges of the reed-bearers (*cannophori*) and of the tree-bearers (*dendrophori*), who must have held their meetings there.[321] On this side also lies a Mithras sanctuary,[322] but this had no connection with the *campus*.

The most interesting part is the east side, where Attis was worshipped. Its centre consists of a small hall with niches, terminating in an apse. The two doorposts are decorated with standing Pan-figures in marble, each with a shepherd's pipe in his hand (pl. 43). Rugged and goat-footed they are frequently seen in the company of Cybele and her shepherd, as are the satyrs, the maenads and Dionysus himself. In the hall the numerous statues and reliefs were found that are now exhibited in the elegant Museum of Ostia, and whose plaster casts can be seen on the find-spot. Apart from the above-mentioned reclining Attis in the Vatican several other representations of Cybele's lover were unearthed, especially in the course of the latest excavations; he is riding a lion,[323] or playing the shepherd's pipe seated on a rock amidst his herd[324] and, finally, dying under a pine-tree after his emasculation.[325] Furthermore, there is a statue of a warrior in a helmet, carrying a small round shield, which was initially explained as Mars, but later as one of the three kouretes.[326] An elongated relief shows a lion attacking a deer, a panther and some bears, all animals of the forest, of which the Goddess is the mistress.[327] However, not a single find of the classical representation of the enthroned Goddess was made, unless a statue depicting her between two lions comes from this sanctuary.[328]The dedications were mostly made by C(aius) Cartilius Euplus and M(arcus) Modius Maximus, in the second century AD, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, who himself was greatly interested in the cult.

Next-door to this Attideum there were some apartments of uncertain purpose, and also – as appears from an inscription[329] – an assembly hall (*schola*) of the lance-bearers (*hastiferi*), the successors of the kouretes, who dance and beat their shields with their lances. Beyond this, in the direction of the wall, lies a small temple of the War goddess Bellona who, like Venus, is related to the Goddess. In the Porta Laurentina itself a structure (*fossa sanguinis*) had been built for the blood-baptism (pl. 45). The site here, unlike the one in Rome, lies within the precincts of the main sanctuary itself.

The numerous merchants who came to Ostia and Rome from the Orient obviously placed their dedications to the Goddess elsewhere as well, such as Portus, the actual port, or in their houses in Ostia proper. Among the dedications are even some very valuable silver objects. It is evident not only from the find of a Cybele priest's tomb in Rome, but also in general, that the followers of the Goddess were much wealthier than those of Mithras, with whom – especially at later times – they maintained close relations.

The sanctuary at Ostia is extremely rich in finds of all sorts, but marks of honour to the Goddess have also been found in other places in this port.[330] In one of the chambers near the Casa della Fortuna Annonaria (*Regio* V, *Is.* II, 8) an inscription[331] was found of one T. Flavius Epigonus, honoured by the society of lance-bearers at Ostia, and in AD 140 the donor of a statue of the Goddess. The find of a marble funeral altar[332] with the representation of L. Valerius Firmus, priest of Isis and of the Mother of the Gods

beyond the Tiber (*sacerdos Isidis Ostensis et Matris deum Trans Tiberinae*), may point to the existence of a second sanctuary on the other bank of the Tiber opposite the town. Another sepulchral monument[333] commemorates C. Junius Euhodus and his wife Metilia Acte. Euhodus was a master-carpenter (*magister collegi fabrum tignariorum*), who had ordered – for himself and Metilia – a handsome sarcophagus, in which their love was to be reflected. He apparently considered Metilia as another Alcestis, capable of descending into the Underworld instead of her husband, to be rescued triumphantly by Heracles, for it is this symbol of altruism that has been depicted on the sarcophagus. Two winged Victories hold the panel with the inscription. Under the feet of these two goddesses lie a tambourine, a shepherd's crook, cymbals, pipes, a torch and a tragic mask, all of them instrumental in the Cybele cult, of which Metilia was a priestess.

The Piazza delle Corporazioni (*Regio* I) is the place where freight used to be given out by contract, and here, where the shipbrokers had their offices, Cybele is found depicted on board the ship arriving in the harbour of Ostia;[334] here too a relief[335] was found of a seated Cybele with profit-bringing Mercury by her side.

Cybele in the Rest of Italy and Sicily

In Latium the Goddess and Attis occur frequently in the immediate vicinity of Rome along the many roads that lead to and from the Urbs. Thus on the road to Tivoli (Via Tiburtina), at Aquae Albulae at the thirteenth milestone from the city, a priest of Cybele had erected a stone with an inscription to Attis.[336] Another testimony from Tivoli (Tibur) has come to light in the villa of Cassius,[337] while the famous villa of Hadrian has preserved a fine statuette of Attis,[338] now in the Kestner Museum, Hanover. From Tusculum, also popular with villa residents, a funeral inscription for an archigallus is known,[339] possibly of the second century AD. To the left of the Via Appia, towards Albano, Bovillae provides a detailed inscription[340] of the college of the *dendrophori* of AD 147 which called itself salubrious (*salutare*), and had a sacred place (*sanctum* = *ἱερόν*) constructed for Cybele. The curator, Gaius Dissenius Fuscus of Bovillae, assigned a plot of land for planting pine-trees (*ad pinus ponendas*) for the sacred forest. Excavations on the spot have failed to yield a temple. Still on the Via Appia, between Lanuvium and Genzano, the famous relief depicting an archigallus came to light[341] in 1736. Whenever one looks at this representation in the Capitoline Museum one is struck by the strange oriental appearance of his personality and by his exotic attributes. His facial expression is as impassive as that of any wax figure at Madame Tussaud's. The ear-pendants, the crown and the necklace give him a decidedly feminine air, contrasting with the lashing whip with which – to the enchanting rhythm of cymbals, pipe and tambourine – he belabours himself till the blood flows.

Much further south a Cybele sanctuary was discovered on the road from Formiae to Gaeta,[342] in which a beautiful marble statue of the Goddess[343] and a bust of Attis[344] were found, both at present in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. The Goddess sits solemnly

on a chair (*sella*), wearing the mural crown on her head. From Formiae, or from nearby Minturnae, we also have an inscription[345] of a Cybele priestess, who had donated a statue of Attis to the community (*Atthin dono dedit*).

Campania is particularly rich in monuments of the Great Mother.[346] This is partly because the earthquake in AD 62 and the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 resulted in the preservation of so much for posterity. But there may be other reasons. Graillot,[347] for example, assumed that at a very early date the cult had been spread by the Greek colonists, as Campania was part of Magna Graecia, and the colonists would consequently have introduced the worship long before Cybele's arrival in Rome. This hypothesis is quite possible, but has not been confirmed yet by archaeological finds, since all the monuments found so far date from the Imperial era.[348] However, the cult may quite well have been influenced by Dionysus worship, which had strongly appealed to the Campanians from earlier times. A study of the Cybele liturgy with its orgiastic character immediately reveals its relation to the Dionysus feasts.

We have detailed inscriptions[349] from Puteoli, which must certainly have had a Metroon (though as yet undiscovered) and quite a number of Cybele followers, since a list of *dendrophori* (see p. 115), who had been chosen on 8 October AD 251 under the supervision of the *quindecimviri*, contains eighty-seven members. On this feast-day bread, wine and little baskets (*sportulae*) with other gifts were distributed. Another inscription mentions the assignment of a plot of land to the *religiosi* of Cybele; at the same time Gaius Julius Aquilinus records that he had had a colonnade (*porticus*) and benches (*sedilia*) constructed at his own expense. Yet another inscription gives the epitaph of Heria Victorina, who carried the *cernus* (see p. 118) at the ceremonies; a further one commemorates the immortal shades (*Di Manes*)[350] of Quintus Aemilius Helpidaphorus, a member of the council (*decurio*), *dendrophorus*, *Augustalis* and *duplicarius* (which entitled him to a double salary).

In many other Campanian towns Cybele temples must have existed, but they have not been preserved or identified. These towns are Baiae-Liternum, Capua, Carinola, Rufrae, Venafrum, Suessula, Herculaneum and Pompeii. But we do have inscriptions from each of these places. From the seaside resort of Baiae there is another list with names of *dendrophori*; at Forum Popilii near Carinola a *taurobolium* inscription was found, dated AD 186; a marble base from Suessula honours a Cybele priest for his services for the town (*omnibus rebus ac muneribus perfuncto*); and, most valuable for our knowledge of the cult, a decree from Cumae (see p. 107) that was drawn up on the occasion of the election of a new priest in the Cybele temple of the emperor Vespasian (*Cumis in templo divi Vespasiani*).

Each of these Campanian towns has a character of its own and has something individual to offer, not least in the field of the oriental religions. Capua, for example, presents a puzzling difficulty, for the keystone of one of the vaults of its beautifully situated amphitheatre of the second century AD consists of a block of marble, decorated with a head in a Phrygian cap. Professor A. de Franciscis[351] is rather inclined to think of Mithras, who had his own splendidly decorated sanctuary in Santa Maria Capua Vetere;[352] others[353] prefer Attis on account of the facial expression. The solution may be found in the fact that Attis and Cybele were connected with the theatre

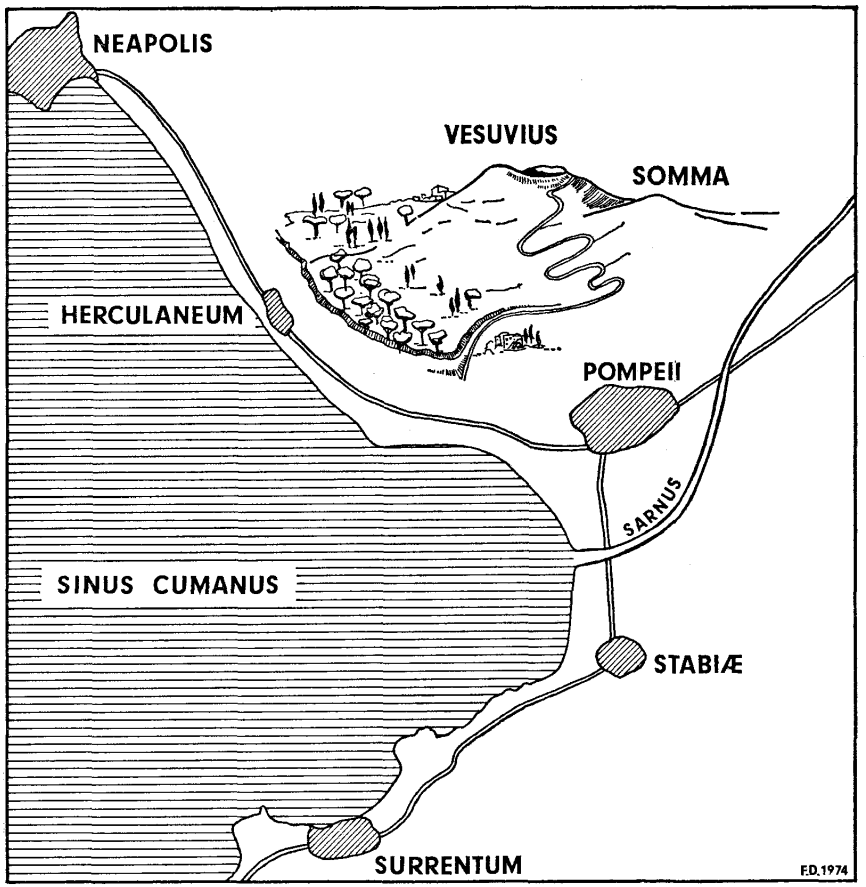


Fig. 25 Pompeii and its surroundings

and that these two figures could often be seen in squares and in public buildings. In other words, Cybele and Attis had been adopted by the people; Mithras, however, remained in his crypt and hardly ever came out into the open. Further, in a rubbish pit (*favissa*) of the temple of Diana Tifatina (the Diana of Mount Tifata near Capua) several terracotta figurines of Attis were found,[354] closely related to the statuettes of the Cybele sanctuary on the Palatine. But it remains an open question whether Diana in her sanctuary had been associated with Cybele.

The picture of the cult of the great Goddess and Attis that we get from Herculaneum[355] shows many points of similarity to that which we get from Pompeii

(fig. 25). The finds in these luxurious country seats consist for the greater part of smaller bronzes and of marble tables whose legs are shaped into Attis figures. Handles of beautiful bronze pitchers, too, are sometimes found decorated with the figure of the popular Phrygian shepherd. Herculaneum has yielded an inscription,[356] dated 1 January 76, in which the emperor Vespasian announces that he has rebuilt the Cybele temple after the earthquake of the year 62 (*templum Matris deum terrae motu collapsum restituit*). Here the emperor is acting as the official representative of the Roman State cult, and was moreover generally known[357] as a restorer of sacred buildings (*restitutor aedium sacrarum*). But our greatest source of information consists of the paintings in the villas.

The owners often instructed the painters to decorate the living quarters of their houses with paintings that reflected their religious interests. In this way Pompeii is very rich in allusions to the Isis cult,[358] but there are also many representations of Cybele and Attis. M. Vecilius Verecundus[359] had the front of his tavern (*taberna*) on the Via dell'Abbondanza decorated with representations of the Sun god and the Moon, flanking Jupiter and Mercury. The statue of Venus Pompeiana on a portable platform stands to the left of the entrance, while the right side shows a procession in Cybele's honour, portraying all the participants (pl. 46). Attis is conspicuous by his absence, whereas other finds, such as the painting[360] in the Casa di Pinario Cereale (*Regio* III, *Is.* IV, 4), prove that he was known in the town. This picture gives the impression of a theatre performance of the Attis myth (pl. 47). The young shepherd stands cross-legged, leaning against a tree; in his left hand he holds the shepherd's crook and in his right hand a razor-sharp sickle (*falx*). He is looking at a winged Amor who, frightened at the sight of the sickle, takes flight. And small wonder, for with this weapon Attis is about to cut himself off forever from the delights of Eros. One of the women, also out of sheer fright, lets the water run from the jug she has just filled at an elegant fountain. Do these three girls, who reveal the upper part of their well-shaped bodies, symbolize the temptation of the nymph of the river Sangarios, whose charms Attis had been unable to resist? The so-called House of the Labyrinth (*Regio* VII, *Is.* XI, 10) displays a similar scene.[361] A woman sits with an air of expectancy, while the Phrygian shepherd near her listens to a winged Amor who has crept on to his shoulder and whispers something in his ear. K. Schefold also is reminded of Attis who is about to be seduced into infidelity to the mighty Goddess (see n. 358).

It is fascinating to find how the dominating figure of Cybele sometimes influenced other representations. In the Museum of Naples,[362] for instance, there is a painting from Pompeii with a so-called *Sakrallandschaft* (sacred landscape). A Silenus, the upper part of his body uncovered and a basket on his head, approaches a veiled woman who is seated on a dais. In her left hand she holds a tall staff, her elbow leaning on a tambourine. The atmosphere is Dionysiac, but the woman's attitude has been derived from Cybele. The relationship becomes even more evident in a painting from the Basilica at Herculaneum,[363] where Hercules has been depicted at the moment when he finds his son, Telephos (pl. 48). Auge, the mother of the child, had been exiled, and her little son, in foreign surroundings, is now fed by a hind. There the hero stands, beholding the miracle. The scenery of Arcadia has been represented by a goddess who,

dressed in a pink tunic, is seated in full majesty on a rock. In an elegant manner she supports her head, adorned with a vine-wreath, and in her left hand she holds a long gnarled stick by way of a sceptre. By her side is a basket, filled with fruit; an eagle and a lion are sitting at her feet. The painter has been unable to resist picturing a naughty little satyr, who with his shepherd's crook and *syrinx* reminds us of Attis. Around such a mountain goddess everything exudes luxuriance: eagle and lion, even Hercules, are now tame. Moreover it should not be forgotten that the inspiration for this painting is to be found in the great altar at Pergamum in Asia Minor. Thus this tableau contributes to a better insight into the continuity of the representation of Cybele and of her influence in art.

The other southern areas of Italy curiously possess far fewer monuments of the Cybele worship than does Campania. Lucania, for instance, has no more to offer than a few inscriptions of *dendrophori*, but we do not know whether any of them had anything to do with the Cybele cult, as they often did elsewhere. From the town centre of Rhegium (Reggio) in Brutium on the other hand three terracottas[364] represent Attis standing with shepherd's crook and pipe; they strongly resemble similar statuettes from the temple on the Palatine. But apart from Locri[365] the information is meagre. Tarentum in Calabria has yielded a fragment of a small Cybele statue;[366] another terracotta mould,[367] now in the National Museum in Budapest, shows Attis standing before a pine-tree, in which a *tympanum* is hanging. He is playing the *syrinx*, but the origin of this interesting piece remains unknown (pl. 49). Brindisi (Brundisium) supplies more data,[368] which suggest the existence of a temple. One monument here deserves special attention, if only because it is made of black stone, which is, of course, reminiscent of the meteorite, for it is in this shape that the Goddess was worshipped. Here she herself has been depicted, seated between her lions. The base itself is decorated with reliefs. On the front the Dioscuri, who are often found in the Goddess's company,[369] are seen riding their horses, their capes (*chlamys*) flying.

In a portico near the Forum at Gnathia (Egnatium) in Apulia a head of Attis[370] and an inscribed base indicate that there must have been a Cybele sanctuary in this area. A question that is not easily answered concerns the famous Apulian vases. Certain representations of Cybele and Attis cannot be found on any of the pieces of this provincial production. Recently[371] a fine Apulian lekythos, ascribed to the Darius-painter (*c.* 330–300 BC), in which the head of a youth in Phrygian cap is seen rising from a trumpet-shaped calyx, was published. Elegantly stylized twigs and flowers border this artistic representation (pl. 50), but unfortunately the young man cannot be identified as Attis, although he was no stranger to the Greek art of that period. It is possible that the Darius-painter merely wanted to depict an oriental.

One of the temples in Sicily that fell a prey to Verres' greed was that of the Magna Mater in Engyum. P. Scipio Africanus had left a number of fine bronze Corinthian helmets[372] and water-jugs (*hydriae*) as votive offerings, and Verres could not keep his hands off them. This information from Cicero[373] is the only literary text referring to the Cybele worship in Sicily that we possess, and even then we do not know exactly where Engyum is situated. This town in the interior is still awaiting excavation. But the cult had penetrated into the island long before under the influence of the Greek

colonists.[374] The first proofs of this are the 'saints' or Santoni (pl. 51). These saints, cut out in a grotto-like cave, are none other than a group of Cybele figures.[375] Just as in the Orient the rock is the Goddess herself, who in each of a series of successive niches is represented in a severe hieratic posture (pl. 52). This open-air sanctuary on the Colle Orbo at Acrae is dated to the third century BC, but the examples of the representations of the Goddess are of a much earlier period, and are to be considered as directly connected with the Greek world, as Sicily formed part of Magna Graecia. All the same there is great variation in the statues, which in antiquity had been decorated with bracelets, necklaces, diadems and ear-pendants. Some niches were panelled with wood to protect the statues from weather action. It is remarkable that Cybele is found connected with Attis and Hermes in this area and in such an early period; in a few cases she is found enthroned between Hermes and Hecate (see p. 79 f.), or she is flanked by the two Dioscuri on horseback.[376] This rich variegation has led Giulia Sfameni-Gasparro[377] to conclude that this sanctuary is a sort of synthesis of the religious dogmas of the cult of the Great Mother, and that many of the niches were even decorated with paintings.

Apart from Acrae, Sicily supplies only very few valuable data. Both at Gela and at Selinus a terracotta figurine of the Goddess was found; the one at Selinus was discovered in the sanctuary of the Malophoros (the apple-bearing lady). In Catania there are two representations of Attis which date from the Roman Imperial Age. In one of them Attis himself lifts his tunic[378] in order to reveal his genitals. This attitude is the more striking since generally the artists themselves had draped Attis' garment in such a way that the reference to his emasculation was abundantly clear. However, the attitude of exposure (*anasyrma*) produces a comical effect, and it recalls the Demeter myth of Eleusis, where Iambe, or Baubo, tries to amuse the sorrowful goddess, who mourns the disappearance of her daughter Persephone, by lifting her skirt.[379]

Just as the Greeks largely determined the early history of southern Italy, so the Etruscans influenced northern Italy for centuries. But they, in their turn, had been influenced by the culture of the Greeks. All the same, it is not until the time of the Roman Empire that Cybele and Attis are found in Etruria, which means that the introduction of the cult was due to the Romans. But in many instances the provenance of the surviving monuments is not known: for example, a small bronze Attis (at present in Marseilles), who holds up a mask in his two hands,[380] and several other representations of Cybele and Attis in the Uffizi, Florence.[381] From Falerii, north of Rome, comes an altar[382] dedicated to the Magna Mater by Julia Ammia, who claims to be the daughter of King Tigranes of Armenia. So the inscription must date back to the first half of the first century AD, since – according to Tacitus[383] – this same Tigranes was assassinated in Rome in AD 36. In Bolsena (Volsinii) French archaeologists have recently found in the southern part of their excavation a small round marble disc (*oscillum*)[384] with a head of Attis and a tambourine on the obverse. This piece forms part of an entire series of similar *oscilla* on which Cybele and Attis regularly occur.

Picenum and Umbria also yield very little, apart from a beautiful marble statue of Attis,[385] presumably of the second century AD, discovered at Sarsina. This time he is entirely naked but for a cloth that is loosely draped over his left arm and shoulder.

However, he is recognizable by his Phrygian cap and his crossed legs; in pensive mood he is standing beside a rock, next to which lies an ox. This Attis was found during the construction of the Sarsina hospital, together with some other statues which had all been smashed to pieces. And small wonder, for the find consists almost exclusively of statues of oriental deities, such as Cybele, Serapis, 'Mithras', Harpocrates and 'Anubis'. That is why Guido Mansuelli[386] assumes that the statues had originally been arranged in a semi-circular construction (*hemicyclus*), and he presumably derives this notion from the *exedra* with statues of scholars and artists that closed off the Road of the Sphinxes in the Serapeum at Memphis.[387] Whereas there are no traces of the cult in Gallia Cispadana it is in evidence again further on, in Gallia Transpadana, north of the river Po (Padus). The show-piece of this area is, of course, the splendid silver and partly gilded dish (*patera*) of Parabiago near Milan (Mediolanum) (see p. 72 f.). It is one of the most beautiful examples of decorative silversmith's work from antiquity (pl. 53). It is astonishing that Milan is represented by only a few inscriptions, one of which – on an altar[388] – mentions a priest of the Mother of the Gods. Verona, with a number of pieces, is next in importance to Milan. The fact that this town had a sanctuary is clear from an inscription[389] that C. Veronius Carpus put up for his wife. Her name, Veronia Trofima, too, was derived from the town of Verona. As a priestess of the Mother of the Gods (*sacerdos Matris deum*) she is even the sacred mother (*mater sanctissima*) of her son Veronius Primus. Some monuments of Cybele and Attis are also known[390] from Aquileia in the province of Venetia. In one of them the Goddess is given the surname of Cereria, which in another inscription from Aquileia[391] is conferred upon the Bona Dea. There are, indeed, several points of similarity between the two Goddesses.[392] An inscription in Trieste (Tergeste)[393] mentions a temple guard (*aedituus*); moreover, this town is known to have had an archigallus[394] but the site of the Metroon itself remains unknown.[395] The Cybele sanctuary of Turin (Augusta Taurinorum) in Liguria has not been discovered either, although a sacred site (*sanctum*) is mentioned, and there are two inscriptions[396] that mention a *taurobolium*.[397] And so the harvest remains relatively poor, both in the northern and in the southern provinces of Italy.

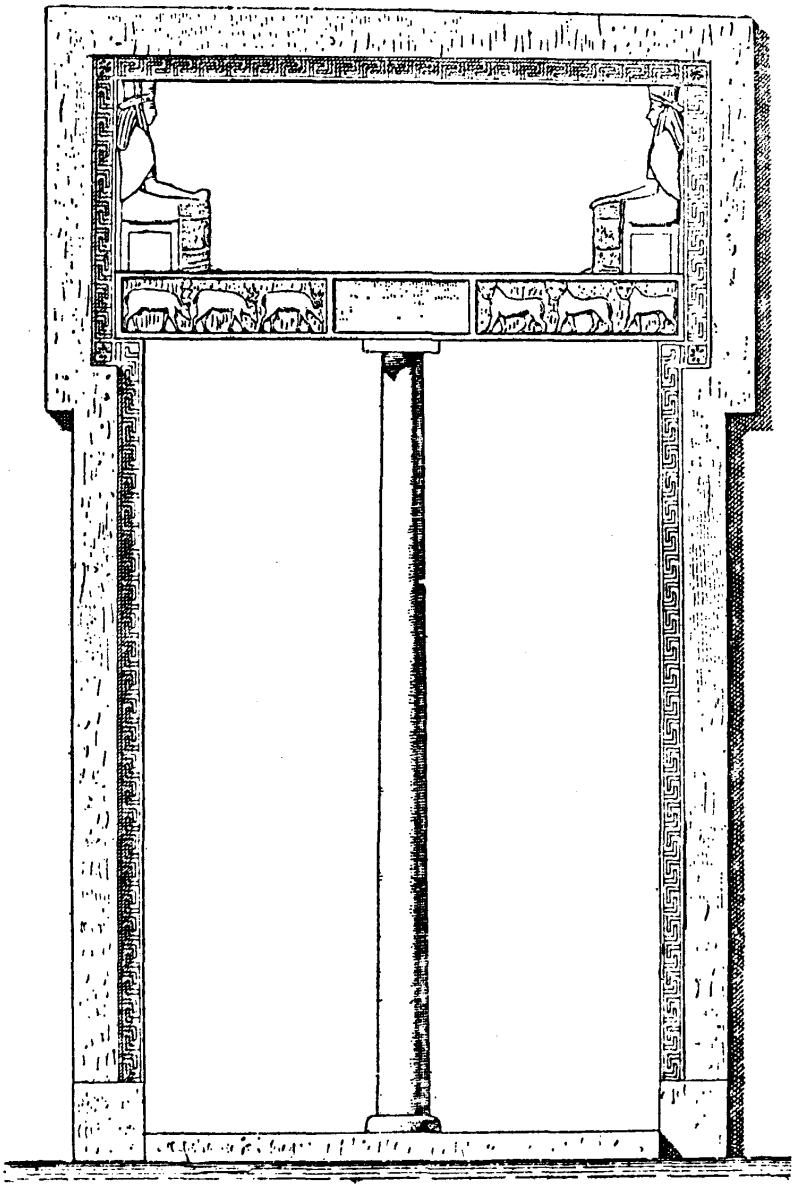


Fig. 26 Reconstruction of the entrance of the temple of Prinias

3
Cybele in Art, Mythology and Literature

Cybele in the Plastic Arts

The archaic art of Asia Minor and Greece has produced many statues of an enthroned or standing Goddess. Sometimes the tradition of the wooden statues is carried over into the later marble ones: she is shown either standing in a severe and solemn posture with her arms rigidly against her body, or seated on a throne, stiff as a ramrod, with her hands in her lap and dressed in a flimsy garment. The entrance to the *cella* of a temple at Rhyzonia (Prinias) near Gortyns in Crete,[398] dated 626–600 BC, is decorated with both types. Cut out in the architrave of the door is a standing Goddess with a high cap, long hair, full breasts, a trailing garment and a wide belt, whereas the top of the actual entrance is flanked by two identical figures of the Goddess in a sitting position, one accompanied by three deer, the other by three panthers (pl. 2, fig. 26).

The seated Goddess of the statues of Miletus and Cyme in Ionia and at Marseilles, the colony of Phocaea, is not attended by animals.[399] When she is, only the general title of *potnia thêrôn*, mistress of the beasts, can be applied.[400] As such she bears many names,[401] the most characteristic being Artemis, the virgin Mistress of Forest and Beasts.[402] But as soon as she is flanked by lions, as on the rock-reliefs of Asia Minor,[403] she can safely be called Cybele. Yet it is remarkable that for centuries the Greeks should have avoided this Asiatic name, calling her Μήτηρ Θεῶν. Ranking above the Father of Gods and Men, the title bestowed on Olympian Zeus by the poets, was Gaia or Rhea,[404] the Mother of the Gods. Either the paternal or the maternal figure predominates. In Greece the primitive Mother-Goddess was easily associated with Demeter, the mother of the corn-sheaf in Eleusis.

It is surprising that the earliest monument of the Goddess with lions to be excavated on the Greek mainland is neither of the seated nor of the standing type. The frieze of the Treasury at Delphi, which the inhabitants of the Isle of Siphnos had had erected in honour of Apollo between 550 and 525 BC, shows the Goddess riding in a lion-drawn chariot.[405] Together with the other gods she has advanced in battle against the tremendous Giants, who are assaulting the stronghold of Olympus. Of this stronghold, too, she is the protectress, and therefore she herself joins the fray, aided by her lions. Calm and self-assured she stands in her chariot, the lions' teeth crushing the thigh-bones of her enemies (pls 25, 26). One can feel only compassion for these dying Giants, whose courage has caused their certain doom.

The Greeks ascribed the most famous statue of the Goddess at Athens to Agoracritus, or even to Phidias,[406] which proves that they regarded the creation of an enthroned Goddess with lions as a work of genius. After an epidemic of the plague the cult was moved to the very centre of the city, this at the command of the Delphic oracle. As late as the second century AD Arrian[407] describes how the artist had depicted the Goddess in a sitting position and – just like the Rhea of Phasis on the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) – with a tambourine in her hand and lions beside her throne. Naturally this priceless statue has been tirelessly looked for, but neither the American excavations of the Metroon, the sanctuary of the Mother, nor the research work in the museums has yielded any result. Ch. Picard[408] is inclined to consider that a fine head of the Goddess in a veil belongs to the lost statue; others prefer to see certain reliefs and statues as direct imitations of it. In the Agora itself, as elsewhere in Athens, a few hundred monuments in honour of the Goddess have been found (pls 54, 55).[409] By far the greater number represent her seated on a throne; on her head she wears the *polos*, and her hair is done in two long plaits. She is dressed in a long garment, often partly covered by a mantle, draped in graceful folds. She is often seated in a temple with columns and a pediment; the throne is sometimes simple and low, sometimes elaborately decorated and high-backed. She rests her feet on the ground, on a footstool or on a lion serving as such. In her right hand she has a libation bowl, which sometimes has an ornamental boss in the middle; in her left hand she holds the tambourine, but sometimes it is beside her in the chair serving as a support for her left hand. Instead of the tambourine, with which she rouses emotions, she occasionally carries a royal sceptre or staff. Then there are the lions: generally she has one lying on her lap; often lions are squatting on either side of her throne, staring menacingly straight at the visitor (fig. 27), or they are sitting with their backs against the sides of the throne, as protectors of their mistress, ready to repel any possible uninvited guest. They are her paladins, ever alert to jump up at the first dull beat of the tambourine, to carry the Goddess into the woods on their backs, or to draw her chariot through the wild forests.

But when the autumn gales set in and the trees are swaying and bending in the wind-swept mountains, she races along, seated in her chariot drawn by four lions, as shown on the beautiful silver-gilt dish from Parabiago in northern Italy (pl. 53).[410] She is confident and self-assured, for she rules and supervises the savage play of Nature. Her beloved, the Phrygian shepherd boy, sits on her left and looks up at her in silent adoration now that her supreme power is so plainly manifest. The three kouretes have risen, as well. Once, in Crete, when young Zeus was being secretly fed by the goat Amaltheia in the cave of Ida, they had drowned the crying of the child by beating their metal shields with their lances.[411] Now they escort the Mother of Asiatic Mount Ida, ecstatically dancing round her lion-chariot and banging their shields with their daggers.

On this representation it is not only Nature that the Goddess rules: her power reaches much further. She stands in the centre of the Universe of Time, Sun and Moon, Earth, Water, the Sea and the Seasons. In front of her chariot stands the Tree of Life, stylized as an obelisk and entwined by a serpent. The young man standing

Fig. 27 Marble statue of Cybele between two lions

beside it, his right hand grasping the oval ring of the Zodiac, is the youthful god of time, or Aion (*Genius Saeculi*). Time is further symbolized by the rising chariot of the Sun god, preceded by the torch-bearing light-bringer, Lucifer, and by the descending Moon goddess in her ox-car, guided by the evening-star, Vesper or Hesperos. The seasons are also represented, as tiny figures below the chariot: Summer with a sheaf of corn, Spring with a lamb on its shoulders, Autumn with the bunch of grapes and, finally, Winter wrapped in a thick coat. The River god lies in the rushes with a water-nymph, his back towards us, his left arm resting on a jar: and then there is Tellus Mater, with her children and the prolific cattle. In between these two, Oceanus is lying on the vast waters, also with a water-nymph.

This work of art is sublime both in composition and content. One of the whirling kouretes calls to mind the dancing maenad of Skopas. The god of time, who in the Mithras cult is often pictured as a devouring monster with a lion's head, is here idealized. Cybele herself, although she stands for the earth as the primitive principle,

the nourishing mother, the *alma mater*, is nevertheless represented separately in the mob, and her reclining figure is closely related to the Tellus on the Altar of Peace (*Ara Pacis*) of the emperor Augustus on the banks of the Tiber.[412]

Then, after the storm, comes the serene calm (pl. 57). The heavy temple door has opened a crack.[413] A mother and her little daughter are on their way to the Great Goddess, bringing her the first fruits of the field. But as soon as they are inside they are overawed, for there she stands, the Goddess herself, in all her majesty with sceptre and tambourine, severe and good-natured, august and gentle, the lion at her feet. In this her quiet temple residence, Attis is also present, leaning on his shepherd's crook. The artist has represented the two deities as much taller than the simple mortals from the countryside but he has managed to put into this relief the faith and the respect of a mother towards the Mother, this in contrast to the much colder atmosphere of a relief in the museum at Thebes, where two women with their gifts approach a lifeless statue.

There are numerous monuments that the faithful dedicated to their Goddess which show inspiration and often originality. However, most works depict the Goddess in the same enthroned posture. Wherever this conventional representation occurs it may safely be assumed that somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary of the Goddess some sculptor had in stock in his workshop a row of similar statues in readiness. Clear examples of this practice are groups of monuments from Ephesus and Smyrna, from Cumae and Athens; the same applies to the numerous terracotta statuettes and reliefs on lamps. Closer examination can sometimes reveal interesting details. A small bore-hole on either side of the Goddess's head (pl. 56) was intended for occasional adornment with a ribbon or a wreath of flowers; it is noteworthy that the Goddess sometimes wore expensive ear-pendants or a fine necklace.

A striking feature of the Attis and Cybele representations, whether showing them separately or together, is that the artists of antiquity used all possible sorts of material. There is a practically unbroken tradition that the seated type with lions should be done in marble. But time and again new variations are thought out, faithfully imitated by the makers of the terracotta statuettes. Even the small marble medallions (*oscilla*), which were hung over house doors, could bear the masks of the two lovers,[414] but in the Rhône valley terracotta medallions[415] were used to adorn jugs or vases. In the motifs of the gold- and silversmiths' repertoire Cybele and Attis are not forgotten. Magnificent golden ear-pendants sometimes bear the portrait of Attis;[416] a set of two ornamental dishes at Hildesheim[417] shows the Goddess and her beloved; the elegant handle of a bronze decanter from Macedonia[418] depicts Attis; small silver pans, such as the three examples at Nijmegen,[419] bear representations of the Goddess on the handle. There are some inscriptions[420] that mention the dedication of a silver image (*signum*; *imago*; *typus*). Although precious metal is often fated to be melted down in times of emergency, an occasional work of art was buried in haste and has thus been preserved for posterity.[421] Legs of tables[422] were sometimes decorated with a representation of Attis; caskets, chariots and horse-harnesses were often provided with bronze mountings depicting the two deities.[423] Nor should the coins be forgotten! Many cities in Asia Minor[424] bear the Goddess in their coat of arms, i.e. on their

Fig. 28 Cybele and Attis on a coin of Faustina

coins. During the late Roman Republic,[425] mint-masters of noble families, and later the emperors, had coins struck with the images of Cybele or Attis. During the reign of Antoninus Pius especially fine coins and medallions showing their favourite Goddess and her lover were issued for the two Faustinas (fig. 28).[426] These circulated widely and were extremely suitable for propaganda. Livia, the wife of the emperor Augustus, had set the precedent;[427] within the framework of the Rome–Troy concept she had ordered the cameo-cutters to portray her in the Goddess's likeness. That is why some interpret the female figure beside Augustus on the famous *Gemma Augusteae*[428] in Vienna (pl. 58) as none other than Livia-Cybele.

In their own way, lamp manufacturers, too, contributed their quota towards the propagation of the popular deities among the people. They were often commissioned to make lamps for a temple or another sanctuary. Cybele is then represented in relief as enthroned between Mercury and Attis,[429] or – and this type was very popular in North Africa[430] – she is triumphantly riding her lion as Cybele-Caelestis. However,

it would be unwise to connect the sites where such lamps are found directly with the cult.

The image of the Goddess is always full of variations and liveliness,[431] and the various motifs of her presence are unendingly fascinating.

Cybele and Greek Mythology

Cybele sometimes occurs as a mighty Olympian sovereign, especially on the 'twelve-god' altars (*dodekatheon*) (pls 27, 28). Elsewhere she is preferably shown among the deities who, together with her, look after the abundance of living Nature. On a base at Sorrento[432] she is seen in the company of some Roman deities (pl. 59). On the other hand, a number of representations, mainly on sarcophagi, place the Goddess in mythological scenes.

The remarkable fact that these representations are found on sepulchral monuments implies that the deceased was, in some way, compared and identified with the main character of the story in question. Sometimes, however, the Goddess herself does not appear, even though the deceased had been a member of the Cybele cult, e.g. the sarcophagus from Ostia illustrating the death of Alcestis,[433] now in the Vatican Museums. The inscription[434] mentions the names of C. Junius Euhodus and his wife Metilia Acte. He, featuring as Admetus, was chairman (*magister*) of the carpenters' guild (*collegium fabrum tignariorum*) at the time of its twenty-first lustrum, which fell in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, so the sarcophagus must have been made shortly after. Euhodus' wife, who plays the part of Alcestis (rescued from Hades through Persephone's intercession), was a priestess of the Magna Mater at Ostia, which is indicated by the cymbals, the pipes, the tambourine, the torches and the masks in Phrygian caps that are ranged below the feet of two hovering Victories, who carry the tablet with the inscription.

The myth of Alcestis, the theme of one of Euripides' tragedies, was depicted on the wall of the tomb.[435] According to Apollo's oracular prophecy Admetus would be allowed to stay alive on the condition that someone else volunteered to descend into the Underworld in his place. His wife Alcestis declared herself willing to do so, and Admetus selfishly accepted the offer. However, true love was later rewarded, and Hercules rescued Alcestis from the Underworld. In the centre of the sarcophagus Alcestis is lying on her death-bed, surrounded by her family. Apollo, on the left, with bow and tripod, is about to leave; on this same side we also see a group of hunters, friends of Admetus. At the right hand end the Underworld is visible, the dog of Hades, Cerberus, guarding the entrance. Proserpina, facing Pluto, who is seated on a throne, puts her left hand on his shoulder. Her intercession is decisive; the actual delivery from the jaws of death is performed by Hercules, who leads the veiled Alcestis back to her husband. In the background three women are watching the touching scene.

At Saint-Médard d'Eyran near Bordeaux[436] two even more interesting sarcophagi have been found, both doubtlessly made in the same workshop *c.* AD 200 (Paris, Louvre).

One of them shows the myth of the sleeping shepherd Endymion being visited by the enamoured Moon goddess Selene; the other presents the story of Dionysus and Ariadne. In both cases the artist has left the faces of the main characters unfinished; only after the sculptor had received a direct commission would the deceased be identified with their heroes. It is a bustling scene, tingling with life. On the extreme right Ariadne lies sleeping, and Dionysus is stepping down from his chariot about to make his way towards her. The entire wall is filled with figures who are dancing, moving about and making music, all crowding round the Wine god: wild maenads, a naughty little Pan with goat's feet, long-tailed satyrs, a centaur couple with their child. One of the satyrs carries a child and a young goat, another makes a playful and tentative grab at the fluttering dress of a passing girl. On the opposite extreme, as a counterpart to Ariadne, there is a woman, who could well be Cybele, in recumbent posture, leaning on a *tympanum*, her left hand holding a sceptre; her hair is dressed with foliage and fruits (pl. 60). The lid of the sarcophagus is decorated at both ends with Bacchus masks and moreover has two panels. Two dancing maenads, accompanied by a horn-blowing Pan and a *syrinx*-playing satyr, are spreading out a cloth as a background to the bust of a man in a toga with a scroll in his hand. Separated from this scene by a little tablet into which the name of the deceased was to be carved Dionysus, with a thyrsus-staff in his hand, is riding in a lion-chariot, escorted by a satyr with a twin-flute, Pan with a shepherd's crook, a satyr with a *syrinx* and a maenad with a *tympanum*. All Nature is astir, vibrating with the fever of love. Cybele as Tellus Mater quietly beholds the turbulent spectacle.

The drama on a second sarcophagus (Naples, National Museum), set in Phrygia, which accounts for the presence of the Phrygian Goddess herself, depicts the contest between Apollo and Marsyas.[437] No wonder, for the Silenus, Marsyas, was generally held to be the inventor of the double-pipe, which occurs so often in the Phrygian cult. All the same, this is not quite correct; he happened to find the instrument which had been thrown away on purpose by Athena, because Venus and Hera had said that she looked quite unattractive when playing it. Marsyas was guilty of recklessness (*ὕβρις*) which is always mercilessly punished by the gods. Thus when he challenges Apollo, the divine lyre-player, to a contest the Silenus cannot but lose. There are many representations, made by Hellenistic artists, on which Marsyas is tied to a tree to be skinned alive by a sadistic Scythian slave. On this sarcophagus the contest itself takes place in the centre. Apollo is accompanied by a dove and a griffin and, of course, by his twin sister Artemis-Diana. Several Muses are standing in the background. Continuing to the right we discern the Muse Euterpe with two large pipes, Hermes-Mercury with the serpent-entwined staff (*caduceus*), and the enthroned Hera-Juno, or Leto-Latona. On the extreme right Marsyas is hanging from a pine-tree. On the left of the main scene Athena, Dionysus and the Muse Thalia with a tragic mask are standing together, surrounding the enthroned Cybele, easily recognizable by a lion and a little Attis, who stands before her in eastern attire with his *syrinx* and his shepherd's crook. Behind Thalia a standing satyr comes looking round the corner.

In the same tradition is a sarcophagus from the second century AD, which probably derives from Sidon (pl. 61).[438] There are three scenes this time. On the left, a water-

nymph lies on the ground with her right elbow on an urn; above her Marsyas can be seen standing next to a pine-tree. Athena, with a pipe in her right hand, is walking up to them. In the centre, the actual contest is taking place, witnessed by six Muses in the background. Marsyas stands in the centre playing a pipe. To the right of Apollo, who is holding a lute, sits his mother Latona, while on the left of Marsyas the Goddess Cybele is watching the scene intently. She can be recognized by the *tympanum* and lion. Athena and Dionysus are standing beside her. On the extreme right, Marsyas appears again tied to a tree, while a Phrygian slave is whetting a knife to skin him. In the middle of the lid is the bust of Hermogenes, who according to the inscription had reached the age of fifty. The corners are decorated with tragic masks. There are two separate panels, the Muse Thalia with a mask and Apollo with a griffin reclining in the left one, the Muse Erato with lyre and plectrum, and Artemis-Diana reclining face to face in the right one. Quiver and arrow, which separate the contiguous figures, are the attributes of both Apollo and Diana.

From these sarcophagi one may deduce that only in one case was the tomb made for a member of the Cybele cult; moreover, in most of the scenes the Phrygian Goddess does not play the principal part. Furthermore the wilder Dionysus cult clearly had deeply affected the Cybele rites. Near the Goddess one repeatedly finds maenads, satyrs and Silenoi, so it is not without significance that both Bacchic elements and the motif of self-sacrificing and unhappy love occur so often in the stucco art of the so-called Basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome. This building, which was erected in the first half of the first century AD, has been explained by Carcopino as an assembly hall of the Neopythagorian sect.[439] Yet, this assumption has of late been subject to increasing doubts. The possibility should not be overlooked that one of the main scenes on the ceiling of the nave may be interpreted as the god Attis escorting the shepherd Ganymede to heaven. There are four representations of a mourning Attis. Many scenes are reminiscent of Asia Minor, and particularly Troy (Hesione, Paris and Helen, Odysseus and Helen, Iphigeneia), or call to mind an unhappy love (Medea and Jason, Ariadne and Theseus). In this respect the scenes are associated with Attis, to whom the Goddess had given all her love. Many Dionysiac elements, recalling the famous Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii, come to the fore. Beside Ariadne, who offers the thread to Theseus in the Cretan labyrinth and was later perfidiously abandoned on the Isle of Naxos, a woman approaches Apollo to beg for mercy on Marsyas' behalf. Apollo cannot grant it, but later the god of music, regretting his cruel decision, breaks his lyre. In the Basilica Alcestis descends into the Underworld; a muscular Hercules converses with a spiritual Athena; Demeter and Proserpina command Triptolemus to divulge the secret of the corn.

All these mythological figures are found near Cybele. The main scene in the apse of the Basilica depicts the poetess Sappho's *salto mortale* from the Leucadian rock, a final desperate deed, to which she is said to have been forced by her unhappy love for the poet Alcaeus. Even here there is an obvious relation with Attis, who in utter despair sacrificed his masculinity, thus causing his own death. The representations on the monuments and, in particular, on the sarcophagi show how Cybele and Attis could sometimes have indirectly influenced the themes of the stucco art in the Basilica.

Cybele and Other Divinities

Apart from the representations on which Cybele occurs with her favourite Attis there are many monuments that introduce other deities into her company. These gods are of a widely divergent nature, and their very divergence emphasizes the great power of the Goddess, the Mother of the Gods, who combines all the qualities of the other deities in herself.

In Greece itself, but more especially on the west coast of Asia Minor, a group occurs which may be referred to as the *naiskos*-group. On these mostly small representations a temple is depicted in which the Goddess sits enthroned. Its peculiarity is that on the columns or *antae* a boy and a girl are represented. These two secondary figures have been given all sorts of names. The boy has always been characterized as a servant, hence the name Kadmilus = cadmillus = servant, as A. Conze[440] called him in the nineteenth century. He is dressed in knee-length *chlamys* and wears a flat travelling-hat; in his right hand he holds a jug or a decanter. The girl wears a long garment and holds one, or two, torches. For these reasons Svoronos[441] was inclined to interpret her as Persephone, daughter of Demeter and wife of the chthonian deity, Hades; consequently he saw her partner in the same Eleusinian context and identified him with Iacchos. This Iacchos, or Triptolemos, had formerly been sent out by Demeter to teach mankind the cultivation of grain; this would account for his travelling-hat. The girl is often equated with Hecate, a goddess closely related to Artemis, or rather her offshoot in so far as she controls the moonlight. As a lunar goddess Hecate herself is often rendered in three figures, referring to the three phases of the Moon. Artemis – Selene – Hecate stimulates the growth of the crops and protects the Kingdom of Nature during the night. For this reason, she is prominently placed at Cybele's side, though no less so than Persephone or Kore, who represents the grain of corn in winter.

Confronted with the choice between Kore and Hecate one is inclined to prefer the latter, as the monuments occur in Asia Minor as well, where the Eleusinian mysteries are not likely to have exercised so great an influence on the Cybele cult.

Whereas the girl is always depicted relatively small, a feature of the young man is that he is sometimes found on the right side of the Goddess and as tall as she is. As for the boy one may safely accept Conze's assumption and regard him as Hermes; in any case his appearance in no way bears any resemblance to the oriental shepherd, Attis.

Sometimes the young man also figures alone beside the Lion Goddess, or on her right, while a bearded god in a long coat stands on her left. Who may this bearded deity be? Many have considered the possibility of a male counterpart to the Goddess and have therefore named him Papas, or Father God; even more vaguely he is referred to as *paredros*, i.e. side-figure, which does not automatically make him her husband.

A relief of unknown provenance[441a] pictures Cybele enthroned, while standing in front of her are a bearded Zeus with sceptre and Hermes in a *petasos* with a *caduceus*. All three deities have a bowl in their right hands.

Another problem is, of course, why of all deities these two should be so emphatically present in the Goddess's company. A possible answer is that Zeus, the Lord of the

Pantheon, is her son. Hermes-Mercury, the messenger and servant, has primarily to wait upon the sovereign Goddess. In this way Zeus and Hermes underline the supreme power of the Goddess, as do the other deities around Cybele.

Another fragmentary relief was dedicated in the fourth or third century BC to the nymphs in a cave of Mount Marpessa on the Isle of Paros.[442] The marble shows an enthroned Mother Goddess being worshipped by a group of men and women. Naturally these mortals are smaller than the gods who are standing just before the throne. Solemnly the Goddess, with the inseparable lion on her lap, receives the homage of gods and men. The young man just in front of her may be Attis. Behind him are three nymphs, and immediately round the throne the well-known girl with torches (Hecate), a bearded god, a goddess with long plaits, and two indistinct figures. In the extreme right-hand corner of the border of the cave entrance the heads and shields of the three kouretes are visible, as well as a seated Pan playing the shepherd's pipe, the mask of a horned river god and three girls.

Even more instructive is the fine relief which had been erected by a Cybele priestess on the Isle of Thasos in the second century AD[443] (pl. 28). According to the inscription this must be the front of a sacrificial altar belonging to a sanctuary of the Goddess who was venerated in the island. The greater part of the relief is occupied by the old motif of two-winged and lissome-bodied griffins attacking a young deer from two sides and in the act of breaking its neck with their curved beaks. This relief is surmounted by another representation in an elongated rectangular frame in which the Goddess is immediately recognizable. She is seated on a high throne, a libation bowl and a long staff in her hands. On either side of the throne is a lion. The animals are quietly looking at the cup-bearer, Hermes, and the torch-bearing Hecate. Behind them follow, in pairs, the other gods: Demeter with her daughter Kore, Aphrodite and Ares, and the two Dioscuri. However, since Ares and the Dioscuri bear shields and lances or swords they may equally well be the three kouretes. The left part of the relief is broken off, but a zither-playing Apollo in a long robe is still clearly discernible. The woman before him is either his mother Leto, or his sister Artemis.

The limestone relief (pl. 27),[444] which was found in Lebadea, in Boeotia (and is now in the National Museum of Athens), dates from the Hellenistic period. On the extreme right the Goddess is seated on a throne, and all the other gods are standing in a row before the throne. Persephone, with the key of the realm of the dead in her hand, is accompanied by her mother Demeter, who is here heavily veiled. Then follows Dionysus with the thyrsus-staff and a drinking-cup; with him is Pan in a goat's skin, horns on his head, a reed-pipe and a staff in his hands. The third couple are Hecate with her two torches, and Asclepius, recognizable by the serpents and, unusually, provided with a horn of plenty (*cornucopia*). The three martial kouretes and the two quick-witted Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, bring up the rear. Next to these two, in the foreground, are four diminutive figures, tiny mortals in the company of gods, who have mustered up all their courage in order to pay their homage as well.

The very choice of the gods is indicative of the power of the Goddess. The goddesses of Eleusis, who know the secrets of life and death,[445] are here seen approaching their even mightier colleague from Asia Minor. It is not surprising that in Eleusis and in

Athens simple votive reliefs are frequently found, in which the two goddesses are enthroned side by side as friends, though each in her own separate *cella*.[446]

While Demeter gives the corn, Dionysus is the giver of wine. This priceless gift is a wonder of Nature, and Nature herself is directly protected by the Mighty Mother. The cult of the Wine god had, moreover, penetrated the Cybele religion in many other forms: frequently Pan or a Silenus is seen playing the *syrinx*; on a relief from Tanagra,[447] maenads are dancing about wildly; nymphs are found doing a round dance in Dionysus' suite when the god is on his way to pay his respects to the Goddess.

In the relief from Lebadea Dionysus with the kantharus in his right hand replaces Hermes, the cup-bearer, but the girl Hecate with her two torches has remained. The young queen of the realm of the dead now stands next to Asclepius, the protector of life.

The kouretes occur in a whole series of representations of the Goddess,[448] as well as the two Dioscuri,[449] sons of Zeus, bold sailors and brave comrades in arms, who live alternately on earth and in the Underworld.

Finally, there is the white marble base from Sorrento (Museo Correale) from the time of Augustus, representing the Goddess (pl. 59) enthroned in full ceremonial.[450] Behind the throne one of the kouretes with a raised shield is seen dancing. But here Cybele is not the central figure. The other deities, such as Ceres, Apollo and Diana with their mother Latona, Venus and Mars, the goddess Vesta escorted by the Vestal Virgins, have not come to protest their obedience. The monument primarily refers to Augustus himself, who had himself portrayed as the reorganizer of the Roman Pantheon, and, in keeping with his policy, the Goddess of Troy is given a place of honour. For the Julii are Trojans, which accounts for the fact that Augustus had his house built close to the sanctuary of the Goddess on the Palatine, thus making it the centre of his religious policy.

Cybele and Literature

A Goddess that is so powerful, one who so frequently intervenes miraculously in human life, and who has indulged in so profound a love affair, cannot fail to have exerted a great influence on literature. Unlike Isis, she was not honoured in litanies, dryly summing up all her competences. All the same it may be interesting to dwell briefly on the epithets[451] that have been bestowed upon her, since this variety of appellation (*πολυώνυμος Μήτηρ*) provides an all-over picture of the Goddess.

The simplest and most frequent names are those of Great Mother (*μεγάλη Μήτηρ* or Magna Mater)[452] or Mother of the Gods (*Μήτηρ θεῶν* or Mater Deum). She is the great Mountain Goddess (*ὀρεία*), who whether by pun or not is identified with Rhea. The mountains are more closely defined as Mount Ida, Mount Agdos, Mount Dindymus, Mount Sipylus and others, whose caves she is supposed to inhabit. Sophocles[453] calls her the all-nurturing One (*παμβῶτις* or *βιοθρέπτειρα*), for she is the all-generating mother (*Μήτηρ παντότεκνος*), in short the All-Mother (*παμμήτωρ*). As Mountain Goddess she rules the animal kingdom, and more particularly she is the nurse of the

Phrygian lions (*Φρυγίων θρέπτειρα λεόντων*).[454] As the patroness of towns she wears the mural crown (*πυργοφόρος*). She brings the people to ecstasy (*ἐνθουσιασμός* or *κατεχόμενος τῇ Μητρί*), especially by wild music; according to Euripides[455] the kettle-drum was popular in Phrygia (*ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν τύμπανα*). Euripides[456] clearly states how closely the cults of Dionysus and Cybele resemble each other in dance and ecstasy.

O happy to whom is the blessedness given
To be taught in the Mysteries sent from heaven,
Who is pure in his life, through whose soul the
unsleeping
Revel goes sweeping!
Made meet by the sacred purifying
For the Bacchanal rout o'er the mountains flying,
For the orgies of Cybele mystery – folden,
Of the Mother olden,
Wreathed with the ivy sprays,
The thyrsus on high doth he raise,
Singing the Vine god's praise –

Before Euripides (480–406) an unknown poet had already dedicated a special song in the so-called *Homeric Hymns*[457] to the Mother of the Gods:

Of the Mother of all the Gods and all Men
Sing me, Muse, with a clear voice,
Thou, mighty Zeus' daughter,
She is well pleased with the lamentations of castanets,
Of kettle-drums and flutes or the howling of wolves and
Sparkle-eyed lions, resounding mountains
And the woody high-lands.

The Hymns to the Mother Earth and to Demeter, with whom Cybele in Greece had formed strong ties, also praise the profound and mysterious force that lies in the womb of the conceiving and procreating Mother, for in the sixth century BC the poet Xenophanes[458] sings:

From the earth everything arises,
To the earth everything returns.

and Plato[459] lovingly and admiringly glorifies that same beneficial power that is so manifest in his own native country.

In the sanctuary of Asclepius,[460] the god of healing, at Epidaurus another hymn to the Mother of the Gods was found, again by an unknown poet, whose song was perpetuated in stone[461] in the third century BC:

Goddesses of Pimpla, come hither from heaven, and sing together with me of the Mother of the Gods, how she proceeded, wandering through mountains and valleys . . . [*text uncertain*].

When the sovereign Zeus caught sight of the Mother of the Gods he hurled the thunderbolt and took up the *tympanum*, he shattered the rocks and took up the *tympanum*.

Mother, go hence to the gods, and do not roam the mountains, lest the sparkling-eyed lions or the grey wolves . . . [*text uncertain*].

And I shall not go hence to the gods, unless I am given my territories, half of the heavens, half of the earth, a third part of the sea. Only then shall I go hence.
Hail, great mistress, mother of Olympus.

According to Pausanias[462] the lyric poet Pindar had dedicated a sanctuary close to his house to this august sovereign. He himself relates[463] how at night young girls used to come and sing there in honour of Cybele and Pan (see p. 36).

Latin poets repeatedly sing the same qualities of the Goddess, and the same epithets often recur, especially in inscriptions. She is now the *Mater deum magna Idaea*, which refers to Mount Ida near Troy; she is the august one (*augusta*), the nourishing one (*alma*), the holy one (*sancta*) or most holy one (*sanctissima*); she is occasionally identified with Venus Caelestis, Juno and Minerva. In this period poets turned to learned explanations of the Goddess, her attributes and her cult. The 'Stoa' and the 'Garden of Epicurus' especially made their influence felt. Following the Epicurean doctrine, according to which man no longer has to fear the gods, Lucretius (*c.* 99–55 BC) in his poem 'On the Nature of Things' (*De Rerum Natura*) II, 594 ff. describes Cybele and her suite[464] 'of whom the old and learned poets of the Greeks have sung'.

On account of her natural power it is clear 'why this one being has earned such titles as Great Mother of the Gods, Mother of Beasts and progenitress of the human frame'.

The fact that the Goddess is driving around in a lion-chariot is symbolic of the phenomenon that the 'whole mighty mass hangs in airy space: for earth cannot rest on earth'. The animals, however wild, cannot but meekly obey the commands of their creators.

'Upon her head they set a battlemented crown, because earth in select spots is fortified and bears the weight of cities. Decked with this emblem even now the image of the Holy Mother is borne about the world in solemn state.'

Then Lucretius hits upon the well-known pun: fruit-Phrygia (*fruges-Phrygia*). The Goddess first gives growth to the fruits; she is, as it were, their inventor. Various other writers attribute this creative power to Demeter or Ceres.

They [i.e. the older Greek poets] give her eunuchs as attendant priests [*galli*], to signify that those who have defied their mother's will and shown ingratitude to their father must be counted unworthy to bring forth living children into the sunlit world.

Lucretius then describes the musical instruments: the tambourines, the hollow cymbals, the horns and the pipe 'with the Phrygian rhythm'.

And then the procession marches on, the Goddess riding through the mighty cities, and when she

silently enriches mortals with wordless benediction, they strew her path all along the route with a lavish largesse of copper and silver and shower the Mother and her retinue with a snow of roses.

The kouretes remind the poet to relate the story of Zeus in Crete, where in the cave of Dicte he was saved from Saturn's revenge by the choir of these shield-beating warriors.

That perhaps is why the kouretes attend in arms upon the Great Mother. Or else, because they signify that the Goddess bids men be ready to defend their native earth staunchly by force of arms and resolve to shield their parents and do them credit.

In the first century AD theories similar to those of Lucretius were to be propounded by the Stoic Cornutus in his work on Greek mythology; presumably the two writers drew their information from the same source.

Lucretius himself is rather sceptically disposed towards his own hardly convincing interpretations: 'Although some may contend that they are well and eminently thought out, they are not far from the truth.' This statement is reminiscent of the Italian saying 'se non è vero, è ben trovato' (if it is not true it is a happy invention).

Quite different is the approach of that prominent expert on mythology, the poet Ovid (43 BC–AD 17). In his *Metamorphoses* (X, 688–704) he relates how Cybele came to acquire her lions. With the aid of the artful Aphrodite Hippomenes had beaten Atalanta in the race at Thebes. But when the young couple were happily united Hippomenes forgot to thank the goddess of love for the golden apples that had caused Atalanta to lose the race.

There incontinent desire seized on Hippomenes, who was kindled by my divinity. Hard by the temple was a dimly lighted, cave-like place, built of soft native rock, hallowed by ancient religious veneration, where the priest had set many wooden images of the olden gods. This place he entered; this holy presence he defiled by lust. The sacred images turned away their eyes. The tower-crowned Mother was on the verge of plunging the guilty pair beneath the waves of Styx; but the punishment seemed light. And so tawny manes covered their necks but now smooth, their fingers curved into claws, their arms changed to legs, their weight went chiefly to their chests, with tails they swept the surface of the sandy ground. Harsh were their features, rough growls they gave for speech, and for marriage chamber they haunted the wild woods. And now as lions, to others terrible, with tamed mouths they champed the bits of Cybele.

In his *Fasti* (IV, 179 ff.), a calendar of Roman religious festivals, Ovid deals with the Cybele cult at great length.

Let the sky revolve thrice on its never-resting axis; let Titan thrice yoke and thrice unyoke his steeds, straightway the Berecynthian pipe will blow a blast on its bent horn, and the festival of the Idaean Mother will have come. Eunuchs will march and thump their hollow drums, and cymbals clashed on cymbals will give out their tinkling notes: seated on the unmanly necks of her attendants, the Goddess herself will be borne with howls through the streets in the city's midst. The stage is clattering, the games are calling. To your places, Quirites! and in the empty law-courts let the war of suitors cease! I would put many questions, but I am daunted by the shrill cymbal's clash and the bent pipe's thrilling drone.

The poet asks the Muses ten questions:

1. Why does the Goddess rejoice in continuous din? The answer is given in the form of the story of Zeus in Crete being saved by the kouretes of Rhea and the Corybants. As in Lucretius, the cymbals and the kettle-drums are now mentioned, and the 'pipe, as of yore, plays Phrygian tunes'.
2. Why the lions? Their fierceness has been tamed by the Goddess (here again there is a hint of Lucretius' influence); this is proved by her chariot (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* VI, 784; III, 111).

3. Why the mural crown? She was the first to give towers to the cities.
4. Why the castration? Here follows a detailed account of Attis' sad and fatal adventure, so repellent to Catullus in his Attis poem (see p. 96 f).
5. Had the Goddess always been in Rome? Yes, she had followed Aeneas on his travels (cf. Vergil), but her real power was recognized only much later. Then follows a description of the journey from Mount Ida to Rome, for 'Rome is a place, worthy to receive any god'. The Goddess's presence revives part of Troy in Rome (cf. also Vergil, *Aen.* III, 102–20, who deals with this item in detail in line with the nationalistic policy of Augustus). The miracle on her arrival in Ostia, which once and for all silenced the slanderous rumours about the chaste (*casta*) Claudia Quinta (see p. 41), has not left the poet's imagination untouched. He dwells at length on the story, then moves on to the ablution on the Almo, and the construction of the temple.
6. Why the financial contributions (*stipis*) of the people? These were collected in order to enable Metellus to build a second temple. This custom is still adhered to.
7. Why the collective suppers (*mutationes*) of the nobility (see p. 124 f.)? These were held in imitation of the transfer (*mutatio*) of the Berecynthian Goddess.
8. Why are the Megalensia (see p. 124 f.) the most important festival in Rome? That is because the Goddess has brought forth the other gods. The other gods cede their place in honour to their Mother.
9. Why the Galli (see p. 96 ff.), although the Gallic country lies so far from Rome? The connection should not be made with Gallia, but with the river Gallus: 'Who drinks of it goes mad. Far hence depart, ye who care to be of sound mind. Who drinks of it goes mad.'
10. Why the use of the *moretum* (see p. 124 f.)? The mixture of cheese and herbs reminds the ancient Goddess of the food of the olden times.

Thus Ovid raises a great many more problems than Lucretius, though both are eager to explain to the people the presence of the alien Goddess. Lucretius' explanation has a philosophical intention. Ovid, who dishes up this theme in a much more juicy way, gives an historical account. Vergil weaves the Great Goddess regularly into the wanderings of Aeneas in order to emphasize her protection of his hero and of the Roman people. Juno may be refractory, but Cybele aids and supports him right from the beginning. After a touching farewell when Aeneas leaves burning Troy, Creusa remains behind, for as she herself says (*Aen.* II, 788): 'The Great Mother of the Gods keeps me in this country', so she need not become a wretched slave of the Greeks, but she can join the ranks of the nymphs of Cybele, who inhabit Mount Ida. Aeneas' ship (*Aen.* X, 156) bears a representation of the Phrygian lion-pair of the Goddess and of Mount Ida; Aeneas' ships have been built (*Aen.* IX, 80–88) of the pine-trees from the forest of the Berecynthian Mother (*genetrix Berecynthia*); when later the Trojan fleet is threatened in the war against the Rutuli (*Aen.* X, 219–45) the nymphs come and warn Aeneas.

The Augustan poets strongly emphasize the Troy–Rome tradition. The artists imitate them. In the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Augustus' Altar of Peace, the fruitful Tellus Mater is gloriously depicted among her children, the small live-stock (*pecus*), the large stock (*armentum*) and the plants. As soon as Aeneas has arrived in Italy, he sacri-

fices the sow under the eyes of the national gods. In the *Gemma Augustea* (see p. 75 and pl. 58) in Vienna the Goddess is standing next to her protégé; Augustus had his house opposite the Cybele temple on the Palatine, Livia has herself portrayed as Cybele. After all Augustus is none other than the new Aeneas! Vergil in his *Aeneid* (VI, 784) draws a direct line from Iulus to Romulus and Augustus. Aeneas invokes (*Aen.* VII, 139) the Zeus of Mount Ida and then the Phrygian Mother. He entreats the mighty Goddess to help him (*Aen.* X, 252–55) in his hard struggle for the possession of Italy:

> Generous goddess of Ida, you, Mother
> of Gods, who take delight in Dindyma
> and towered towns and lions yoked in pairs,
> now guide me in this coming battle; goddess,
> make this sign favorable, stride beside
> the Phrygian squadrons with your gracious step.

The poets of the Golden Age were kindly disposed towards the Goddess. In the national religious reformation of Augustus the cult of Cybele was no alien intruder; she belonged to the ancient heritage. It is only the exotic elements that cannot be justified, nor explained in the context of the national ancient-Roman (= peasant-Roman) tradition. It is only later that the emperors Claudius and Antoninus Pius can skilfully guide Attis and the concomitant alien ceremonies into a form that they can control.

The inscriptions inform us of the existence of *hymnologi*, who recited sacred songs in honour of Cybele and Attis in the theatres, accompanied by dance or pantomime expressing the intimate love between the dominating mother-principle and the attendant, but rebellious, Phrygian shepherd (*Phryx puer*). These hymns are lost; the Christian writer Hippolytus (third century AD) refers to a song for Attis (see p. 182), but for the rest it is not until the time of the emperor Julian (AD 361–63) that another hymn is mentioned. Julian was a sensitive intellectual, whom the burdens of the Empire weighed down the more as he had never had any ambition for them. When he set out on his campaign against the Persians and unknowingly marched towards his death, he passed through Pessinus, the ancient city of the Mother of the Gods. As he could not sleep he got up, and in the clear starlit night unburdened his soul in writing. While he believed that the folly of Christianity threatened the world with destruction, he, the future loser, made a last effort to stem the tide. Often mischievous, provocative and remonstrative, trained in the schools of the Neoplatonists who tried to explain the ancient gods symbolically, he wrote an oration in honour of Cybele. Since he was incapable of poetry, he composed it in prose; all the same it manages to move us owing to his warm personality (Julian VIII [V]).

> Ought I to say something on this subject also? [begins Julian] And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable? Who is Attis or Gallus?
>
> Who is then the Mother of the Gods? She is the source of the intellectual and creative gods, who in their turn guide the visible gods: she is both the mother and the spouse of mighty Zeus; she came into being next to and together with the great creator; she is in control of every

form of life, and the cause of all generation; she easily brings to perfection all things that are made; without pain she brings to birth, and with the father's aid creates all things that are; she is the motherless maiden, enthroned at the side of Zeus, and in very truth is the Mother of all the Gods. For having received into herself the causes of all the gods, both intelligible and supra-mundane, she became the source of the intellectual gods. [Julian, Chap. 6, 112, ed. Rochefort.]

And what about Attis?

But him whom I call Gallus or Attis I discern of my own knowledge to be the substance of generative and creative Mind which engenders all things down to the lowest plane of matter, and comprehends in itself all the concepts and causes of the forms that are embodied in matter. [Julian, Chap. 3, 106, ed. Rochefort.]

In this way the entire myth of Cybele and Attis is philosophically explained. Julian had read the earlier writers thoroughly, but in his exposition he is often unnatural and therefore too artificial. He wants to find a solution for every question, and this sometimes obscures his apology. The character of the mighty Goddess, her throes of birth and her joyful experiences of nature are hidden behind Neoplatonic symbolism.

Much more natural is the message of a eulogy to Mother Earth, dated to the second or third century AD.[465] In the opening lines the unknown poet evokes the holy Goddess Tellus, Mother of living Nature (*rerum naturae parens*), and in the second stanza he immediately passes on to the blessings of the Magna Mater:

The food of life
Thou metest out in eternal loyalty
And, when life has left us,
We take our refuge in Thee.
Thus everything Thou dolest out
returns into Thy womb.
Rightly Thou art called the Mother of the Gods
Because by Thy loyalty
Thou hast conquered the power of the Gods.
Verily Thou art also the Mother
Of the peoples and the Gods,
Without Thee nothing can thrive nor be;
Thou art powerful, of the Gods Thou art
The queen and also the goddess.
Thee, Goddess and Thy power I now invoke,
Thou canst easily grant me all that I ask,
And in exchange I will give Thee, Goddess, sincere thanks.

4
Attis in Mythology and Art

The Legend of Attis

Only one person has ever had the privilege of intimate contact with the Mother of Gods and Men: a shepherd from Phrygia, the mountainous country in Asia Minor, and his name is Attis (pl. 62).[466]

The Goddess is august, proud, and far above mortals. Yet she shows that even a goddess may yield to the insistence and the beauty of a man, especially if he is young and, as legend will sometimes have it, a prince. Whether Attis was a king's son or a mere shepherd boy is hardly of interest to us. Even Zeus himself had found the shepherd boy Ganymede in Phrygia, and had brought him to Olympus as his cup-bearer. Simple and weak mortals are favourably impressed by a goddess who places simplicity itself on her throne beside her. She becomes dearer and less distant.

The love between Cybele and Attis did not develop smoothly. All the various tales that are told about Attis repeatedly stress the great obstacles.

In the version of the legend by the father of historiography Herodotus, Attis, or Atys, was the son of King Croesus of Lydia. The account that he gives was especially popular in Lydia itself and is set in the sixth century BC. Herodotus (I, 34–45) himself is so vivid a raconteur that he must be allowed to tell his own story:[466a]

34 But after Solon's departure, the divine anger fell heavily on Croesus: as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blest beyond all other men. Presently, as he slept, he was visited by a dream, which foretold truly to him the evil which should befall his son. He had two sons, one of whom was wholly undone, for he was deaf and dumb, but the other, whose name was Atys, was in every way far pre-eminent over all of his years. The dream then showed to Croesus that Atys should be smitten and killed by a spear of iron. So Croesus, when he woke and considered the dream with himself, was greatly affrighted by it; and first he made a marriage for his son, and moreover, whereas Atys was wont to lead the Lydian armies, Croesus now would not suffer him to go out on any such enterprise, while he took the javelins and spears and all such instruments of war from the men's apartments and piled them up in his storehouse, lest any of them should fall upon his son from where it hung.

35 Now while Croesus was busied about the marriage of his son, there came to Sardis a Phrygian of the royal house, in great distress and with hands unclean. This man came to Croesus' house, and entreated that he might be purified after the custom of the country; so Croesus purified him (the Lydians use the same manner of purifications as do the Greeks), and when he had done all according to usage, he inquired of the Phrygian whence he came and who he was: 'Friend,' said he, 'who are you, and from what place in Phrygia do you come to

be my suppliant? and what man or woman have you slain?' 'O King,' the man answered, 'I am the son of Gordias the son of Midas, and my name is Adrastus; by no will of mine, I slew my brother, and hither I am come, banished by my father and bereft of all.' Croesus answered, 'All of your family are my friends, and to friends you have come, among whom you shall lack nothing but abide in my house. And for your misfortune, bear it as lightly as may be and you will be the more profited.'

36 So Adrastus lived in Croesus' house. About this same time there appeared on the Mysian Olympus a great monster of a boar, who would issue out from that mountain and ravage the fields of the Mysians. Often had the Mysians gone out against him: but they never did him any harm and rather were themselves hurt thereby. At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message: 'King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who destroys our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; now therefore, we beseech you, send with us your son, and chosen young men and dogs, that we may rid the country of him.' Such was their entreaty, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and thus answered them: 'Say no more about my son: I will not send him with you: he is newly married, and that is his present business. But I will send chosen men of the Lydians, and all the hunt, and I will bid those who go to use all zeal in aiding you to rid the country of this beast.'

37 So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this. But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, 'Father,' said the young man, 'it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or craven spirit. With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my new-wedded wife? With what manner of man will she think that she dwells? Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt, or show me by reason good that what you are doing is best for me.'

38 'My son,' answered Croesus, 'if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine.'

39 'Father,' the youth replied, 'none can blame you for keeping guard over me, when you have seen such a vision; but it is my right to show you this which you do not perceive, and wherein you mistake the meaning of the dream. You say that the dream told you that I should be killed by a spear of iron; but has a boar hands? Has it that iron spear which you dread? Had the dream said I should be slain by a tusk or some other thing belonging to a boar, you had been right in acting as you act; but no, it was to be a spear. Therefore, since it is not against men that we are to fight, suffer me to go.'

40 Croesus answered, 'My son, your judgment concerning the dream does somewhat overpersuade me; and being so convinced by you I change my purpose and permit you to go to the chase.'

41 Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: 'Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no ruffian robbers meet you on the way, to do you harm. Moreover it is but right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father's son; and you are strong enough withal.'

42 'O King,' Adrastus answered, 'had it been otherwise, I would not have gone forth on this enterprise. One so unfortunate as I should not consort with the prosperous among his peers;

nor have I the wish so to do, and for many reasons I would have held back. But now, since you so desire and I must do your pleasure (owing you as I do a requital of good service), I am ready to obey you in this; and for your son, in so far as I can protect him, look for his coming back unharmed.'

43 So when Adrastus had thus answered Croesus they went out presently equipped with a company of chosen young men and dogs. When they had come to Mount Olympus they hunted for the beast, and having found him they made a ring and threw their spears at him: then the guest called Adrastus, the man who had been cleansed of the deed of blood, missed the boar with his spear and hit the son of Croesus. So Atys was smitten by the spear and fulfilled the utterance of the dream. One ran to bring Croesus word of what had been done, and came to Sardis, where he told the king of the fight and the manner of his son's end.

44 Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody deed, and in his great and terrible grief at this mischance he called on Zeus by three names – Zeus the Purifier, Zeus of the Hearth, Zeus of Comrades: the first, because he would have the god know what evil his guest had wrought him; the second, because he had received the guest into his house and thus unwittingly entertained the slayer of his son; and the third, because he had found his worst foe in the man whom he sent as a protector.

45 Soon came the Lydians, bearing the dead corpse, with the slayer following after. He then came and stood before the body and gave himself wholly into Croesus' power, holding out his hands and praying the king to slay him where he stood by the dead man: 'Remember,' he said, 'my former mischance, and see how besides that I have undone him who purified me; indeed, it is not fit that I should live.' On hearing this Croesus, though his own sorrow was so great, took pity on Adrastus and said to him, 'Friend, I have from you all that justice asks, since you deem yourself worthy of death. But it is not you that I hold the cause of this evil, save in so far as you were the unwilling doer of it: rather it is the work of a god, the same who told me long ago what was to be.' So Croesus buried his own son in such manner as was fitting. But Adrastus, son of Gordias who was son of Midas, this Adrastus, the slayer of his own brother and of the man who purified him, when the tomb was undisturbed by the presence of men, slew himself there by the sepulchre, seeing now clearly that he was the most ill-fated wretch of all men whom he knew.

Herodotus here reflects the Lydian version of the Attis legend, in which Attis does not die until after his marriage. It should also be noted that Attis is killed by the fate that Adrastus could not evade,[467] and that Adrastus then takes his own life on the burial-mound, because these are the very same elements that are found again in many other Attis stories.

One of these tales runs as follows:[468] Attis is born in a miraculous way. In a passion of love Jupiter approaches Mount Agdus which appears in the likeness of Rhea. But she is not disposed to give in to his solicitations; in the ensuing struggle Jupiter sheds some drops of sperm; instead of falling into the fertile womb they are spilled over the mountain (*voluptatem in lapidem fudit*), which, however, conceives from the divine semen. As a result a terribly wild and androgynous creature is born (*insana et furialis libido et ex utroque sexu*), which is called Agdistis. Androgyny is a menace: its combination in one person of the qualities of the two sexes enables it to multiply without the aid of others. The hermaphrodite[469] constitutes a danger to both gods and men; and so the gods must take action, but they shrink back from the consequences of a downright murderous assault. They happen to know the place where Agdistis bathes every day, and the spring where he quenches his thirst and enjoys the cool shade. The

assembly of the gods decides to invoke the cooperation of Bacchus-Dionysus. He is to mix the spring-water with wine. The god of wine accepts the assignment, possibly in order to obtain immortality. While the brute is sleeping himself sober Dionysus steals up to him and with a stout cord ties Agdistis' genitals to a tree. On awaking Agdistis 'deprives himself of that which made him a man' (*ipse se viribus eo quo vir erat privat*), according to Arnobius in the third century AD. From his blood a tree shoots up and presently bears fruit. And then the 'king's daughter' Nana comes walking past, and astonished by the lovely fruits she picks some and gathers them in her lap. Suddenly one of the fruits appears to have vanished, Nana finds herself pregnant and her father Sangarios (which also happens to be the name of a Phrygian river) even wants to kill his daughter to save his family from the disgrace. But now the Goddess intervenes and arranges the premature birth of Attis. But Sangarios still fails to understand the significance of the divine intervention, and orders the child to be abandoned. However, in the same way as his grandfather Zeus, the foundling Attis is kept alive by a goat and later raised by shepherds. He grows up into a handsome (*formosus adulescens*) and highly attractive shepherd, whom even the mighty Mother of the Gods finds herself unable to resist.

It was especially in Pessinus, west of Ankara (ancient Ancyra), where the Goddess enjoyed great popularity, that this story circulated and all sorts of details and variations were added.[470] Agdistis falls in love with a young 'king's son'. The hunting theme is introduced (cf. the Lydian version). One day, when Attis is drunk, he admits that he owes all his successful hunting exploits to Agdistis. When Attis wants to get married Agdistis suddenly appears on the wedding-day as the bridal songs resound and drives all the wedding guests, especially bride and bridegroom, to utter despair. The bride dies of self-inflicted breast-wounds; Attis rages round like a wild maenad, until he falls down, exhausted, under a pine-tree and in an access of insanity emasculates himself. Only when he sees Attis dying of his mutilation does Agdistis regret his behaviour, beseeching Zeus to raise Attis from the dead and resuscitate him. The god does not refuse Agdistis' request completely, and allows Attis' body to remain uncorrupted, his hair to grow on and his 'little finger' to stay alive and move continuously (*digitorum ut minimissimus vivat*).

It becomes clear that the gist of all these stories is to be found in the sacred marriage of the Father and the Mother of the Gods. Yet curiously while Agdistis before his emasculation reminds us strongly of Attis, who is also sometimes represented as androgynous, throughout the sequel Agdistis[471] is none other than Cybele herself; also Nana,[472] the king's daughter, is without any doubt the Phrygian Goddess, figuring as Attis' *Mama*.

From the myth we have seen that Agdistis in his jealousy cruelly went to spoil the wedding of Attis and his bride. Of this story another and certainly far more widespread version is related by various writers. Thus, according to Ovid[473] in his *Fasti*, Cybele is in love with the handsome shepherd boy who has to pledge eternal fidelity. But when he falls under the irresistible spell of a nymph,[474] the avenging hand of the Goddess strikes: the nymph Sangaritis (daughter of the river Sangarios) is killed and Attis becomes insane. He is obsessed with delusions and thinks himself persecuted by

the Erinyes. With the aid of a sharp stone he deprives himself of those parts of his body which were the cause of his infidelity. Flowers spring from his blood, and he himself is changed into a pine-tree.

Finally, another variant of this theme of the love between the Goddess and Attis is told by the Sicilian historian Diodorus,[475] who lived in Rome at the time of Augustus. Once there was a king, Maioon, who reigned over Phrygia and Lydia. His wife, Dindyme (cf. the mountain), bore him a daughter. As he had looked forward to an heir to the throne he ordered the baby to be abandoned on Mount Kybelon. But the child is kept alive by wild animals, shepherds adopt it in their home and complete its education. They call her Cybele after the region where she had been found. When she has grown up she meets Attis. She expects his child. But at that very moment she is found to be a king's daughter. Maioon is furious: the fact that his daughter, now safely back in his palace, is expecting a baby whose father is a mere shepherd leads to tragedy. In a rage he has Attis and all those who have nurtured his daughter killed. Nothing but loneliness awaits poor Cybele and, mourning like Demeter, she roams the countryside, where the fields become barren and desolate. The people no longer find anything to eat. An oracle advises them to bury Attis and to worship Cybele as their Goddess. But the corpse of Cybele's lover is nowhere to be found, and their only solution of this problem is to erect a statue of Attis and organize an annual memorial day for him.

The common thread that runs through the various stories is that of Dramatic Love. Sometimes the shepherd boy is the son of the Mountain deity, sometimes merely her lover, sometimes he is of royal descent, and then again a simple herdsman. Many fairy-tale motifs, such as the miraculous rebirth itself, the rescue of the foundling and the recognition, have been used, interlocked and interwoven. There exists even a version in which Cybele herself is abandoned as a foundling. But the ever-recurring theme is that of Cybele's vengeance, when Attis meets another woman. Not only does she give rein to her womanly jealousy, but class distinction also comes into play, for suddenly the Goddess objects to being put on a level with mere mortals. On the other hand there is Attis' passion. He has sworn to remain true to the Goddess, but the charming nymph has captivated him. Some stories even tell us that, like Adrastus, the girl commits suicide on Attis' grave. And then, finally, there is the renewed vow with the elimination of any possible risks. This vow is virtually forced upon him by the Goddess. When Attis has succumbed to the effect of his emasculation she repents. According to tradition he was buried in Pessinus. The festivities, created in his honour, consist of Tristia, the commemoration of the sorrow, and of Hilaria, feasts of joy for his resuscitation, even if only partial. Following his example the priests of Attis dedicated themselves entirely to the Goddess. The divine occurrence repeats itself time and again, serving as an example to the faithful: bow to the power and majesty of the Goddess; if one enters into her cult one is initiated as a sacred slave without any hope of freedom. In exchange the Goddess will stretch out her hands protectingly over her slaves.

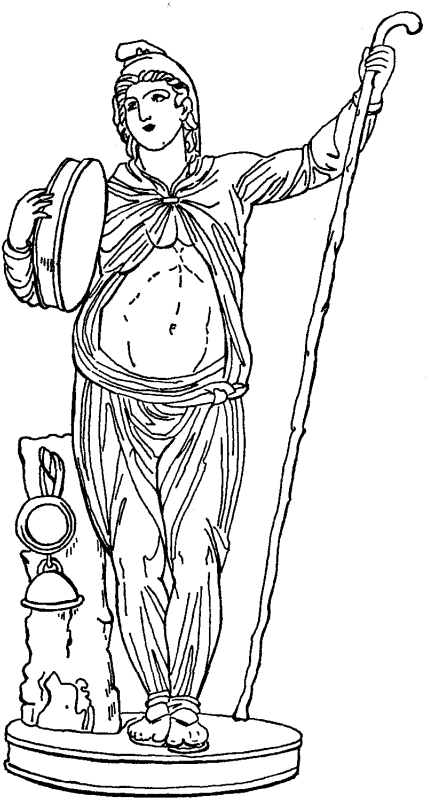


Fig. 29 Design of an Attis statue in the Vatican Museums

Attis in the Plastic Arts

Time and again artists have found their inspiration in the Attis legend,[476] and most of their work is the result of commissions given by persons who wished to have a votive gift placed in a temple or elsewhere.

The terracottas, coins and some smaller bronzes, are the main objects of art to depict aspects of the legend. The Archaeological Museum of Istanbul[477] houses some clay figurines of the Goddess with a young Attis in her lap. He is invariably recognizable by his Phrygian cap with long ear-flaps (*tiara*), by the long tight trousers that taper down to his ankles (*anaxyrides*) or by a shirt that reaches down to his knees (*tunica*) and is partly covered by a shoulder cape (fig. 29). As a shepherd boy he rides a ram, or drives a ram-drawn cart. The Phrygian lad (*Phryx puer*) plays away, as any other child would do, until he has become a *scitulus*, a comely young man. Then he is

mostly seen standing amid his herd, cross-legged and leaning on his crook. Sometimes he is seated on a rock, i.e. in the mountains, his quietly grazing herd guarded by a shepherd's dog. A doubly thick cap, pulled down over the ears, and a heavy, long coat suggest the winter in this huge and mountainous region.[478] He plays a tune on his *syrinx*, a pipe consisting of seven tubes of reed. He is also shown as a *pastor bonus*, the good shepherd who carries the sheep on his shoulders. He is often standing in the shade of a pine-tree, from whose spreading branches tambourines and cymbals are hanging.

On a relief in Rome[479] he stands listening to the Goddess, who – *tympanum* in hand – approaches in her lion-chariot to take him with her into the mountains (fig. 22). She will teach him how to subdue and ride the savage lion, and how to stand – prince-like – beside her throne, when she receives the homage of the gods and goddesses of Nature. In her temples he is often found close by her, but the Goddess always remains the queen, the principal personage, whereas he is her inferior, her obedient servant, which accounts for the fact that he is always depicted as the smaller of the two.

No further indication of a love affair between them has ever been found depicted in the arts, nor is the nymph Sangaritis ever shown, which makes the representations different from those of Venus and Mars, Apollo and Daphne or Ariadne and Dionysus, for the Cybele cult is rather a cult of abstinence. As Hippolytos dedicates himself with self-sacrificing love to Artemis, so the lover Attis turns into the worshipping Attis, who in the end even lacks the faculty of physical intercourse.

However, Ch. Picard[480] is inclined to connect a bronze vase in the museum in Alexandria with Attis' infidelity. The scene is laid in Mount Dindymus near the river Sangarios. The young and attractive Sangaritis is sitting under a tree. Then, as in a dream, the goddess Cybele appears in the sky. The naked Attis is seen running away from the nymph in panic; later he is depicted sitting under a tree.

Occasionally the artists return to the scene in which he mutilates himself with a stone or a knife in his hand. In his temple in Ostia[481] there is a statue that depicts him lying under the pine-tree with out-spread legs, shortly after the moment of his self-emasculation. A similar representation (pl. 63) occurs in Glanum[482] (St Rémy, in France), but there he is lying cross-legged on his side, without any sign of his herd. In some terracottas from southern Italy and in the painting in the Casa di Pinario at Pompeii[483] he holds a sickle (pl.47). Coins from Cyzicus[483a] in Asia Minor of the second century AD show a reclining Attis with fettered feet. The most celebrated work of art in honour of Attis is the large marble statue from the sanctuary in Ostia,[484] found in the nineteenth century (pl. 44), showing Attis at rest, with one knee raised, leaning on an elbow. Just as in the relief at Glanum he wears only a cape, a Phrygian cap and sandals. Under his left arm a bearded head is visible, and under the rock on which he lies there are undulating lines. It would not be far-fetched to interpret them as the rivers Sangarios or Gallos, which are both repeatedly mentioned as being the streams on whose banks Attis killed himself. The statue combines several conceptions of his range of power. Sun rays, not unlike those sometimes found with the Iranian Mithras, radiate from his cap. The top of this headgear terminates in a crescent with ears of corn and fruits. He controls both cattle and plants which explains why in some

representations he occurs with a pile of fruit in the lap of his *tunica* (in Madrid),[485] or with a horn of plenty (in Fianello, Italy).[486]

Many representations also stress the hermaphrodite character of Attis. This bisexuality points to both the Agdistis myth and the emasculation. The writers have never failed to deride his female characteristics, as the artists had often depicted them. By having his clothes blown upwards as by a gust of wind these sculptors and painters very demonstratively and boldly revealed the nature of Attis' sex. Again and again they repeat this sad theme, which never failed to move the people of antiquity with a profound sense of pity and, at the same time, of awe at the dramatic love that could induce him to such a desperate act.

His death has been depicted in a small marble statue from Rome, at present in the Albertinum at Dresden.[487] There he lies, lifeless, his arms and legs stretched out, his Phrygian cap, torch and cymbals beside him.

His burial and grave are passed over in silence, this in contrast to the very lively Dionysian elements; obviously preference is given to the cheerful celebration of his rebirth which follows the sorrowful event. Moreover a strong influence of the Amor-Eros figure is perceptible. This is most clearly expressed in the winged and dancing Attis. Again there are a number of variants: standing and winged; dancing and wingless; dancing and winged. With the exception of the large marble statues from Cyzicus[488] in Asia Minor, they are mostly bronze figurines, which have even been found in England. Obviously many of these statuettes were taken along by the worshippers on their journeys abroad, and put up in their temporary homes. Most of these people were orientals, who little cared whether or not the love between the Goddess and Attis was jeered at. Their god personified for them that love which is both giving and abstaining. In the fourth century AD the champions of the Eastern cults, such as the emperor Julian, the Neoplatonist Sallustius and the prose writer Macrobius, advanced all sorts of symbolic explanations with regard to Attis. The 'sacred harvest', as Julian calls Attis' act in his eulogy of the Goddess, will in the long run lead to an act of sacred and self-effacing devotion. And although in this period the same conception is seen to arise among the early Christians this does not necessarily imply a direct derivation.[489]

5
Cult and Festivals

The Galli and the Archigallus

In the story of Cybele's advent in Rome[490] no mention is made of Attis, and only a few casual references indicate the simultaneous arrival from Asia Minor of some priests and priestesses. The Romans had brought their ancestral Goddess to the new country and provided her with proper accommodation, only then to discover how widely and profoundly their own attitude differed from the Asian mentality. They were shocked by the Eastern rites, with their loud ululations and wild dances,[491] with their entrancing rhythms, which by pipe and tambourine whipped up the people into ecstasies of bloody self-flagellation and self-injury. Consequently the *pontifex maximus* confined the rites to the precincts of the temple on the Palatine, apart from processions and the public games, the Megalensia. Furthermore Cybele was to be served by only oriental priests; Roman citizens were not allowed to serve until the times of Claudius. Thus in an obscene little poem the poet Martial[492] mentions a gallus by the name of Dindymus. The single name denotes him as a slave; at the same time he owes his name to Mount Dindymus, where the Goddess was fervently worshipped, so he is an Asian, as indeed most of his colleagues are.

These galli[493] took the cock (*gallus*) as their symbol, as is evident from a pun on the funeral urn (*cista*) of the archigallus M. Modius Maximus at Ostia (pl. 64).[494] But according to others their name was derived from King Gallus,[495] who in a state of frenzy had emasculated himself, or from the river Gallos, a tributary of the Sangarios near Pessinus, where according to a legend the baby Attis had been abandoned as a foundling, and on whose banks he is said to have later emasculated himself.[496] The galli, carried away by the music, imitated Attis, performing the emasculation – according to an old ceremonial – in a most primitive and highly dangerous fashion with the aid of such instruments as a sharp stone[497] (*saxo acuto*), a potsherd[498] (*testa Samia*) or a knife.[499]

It was the very voluntariness of this castration that bewildered the Romans as an incomprehensible act of insanity. The mockeries and sneers which the writers – whether Christian or not – flung at Attis himself, apply with even greater force to these 'cocks'. These half-men[500] (*semiviri*; *semimares*) or half-women[501] (ἡμίθηλυς), whichever you like, that 'wandering herd of the Dindymean mistress' (*Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora*),[502] are really only to be pitied. The poet Catullus,[503] who in the first century BC describes such a case of emasculation in one of his poems (no. 63),

shudders at the thought that a similar fate might happen to him, and in the closing lines he sighs:

> Goddess, powerful Goddess Cybele, Dindyme's sovereign,
> Protect my home, oh mistress, from all this insanity,
> Let others be enchanted, let others be entranced.

Hardly anyone would support the view of the emperor Julian[504] and call the emasculation 'that holy and inexpressible harvest'; nor would they share the more spiritualized opinion that these castrated men, delivered as they are from sensual lusts by their voluntary sacrifice, should be considered the real Wise Ones[505] (*σόφοι*), the essentially Pure Ones (*purissimi*) and the Holy Ones (*ἅγνοι*). It was not only for these reasons that the emperor Claudius was obliged to carry through a drastic reform especially of the Attis cult,[506] but also because of the possibility that legal problems might arise. In 77 BC such a case had been put before the praetor Cn. Aufidius Orestes;[507] when the hereditary rights of a gallus named Genucius, a freedman, were questioned, the praetor decided in his favour; but one of the consuls impugned this judicial decision, stating that this heir was 'neither a man nor woman'.[508] Eventually Domitian decreed that Roman citizens were forbidden to practise emasculation (*eviratio*).[509]

A further irritating factor was that the gallus indulged in an extravagant personal appearance.[510] On the Day of Blood (*dies sanguinis*) he forever discarded his male attire; henceforth he wore a long garment (*stola*), mostly yellow or many-coloured,[511] with long sleeves and a belt. On their heads these priests wore a *mitra*, a sort of turban, or a *tiara*,[512] the cap with long ear-flaps which could be tied under the chin.[513] The chest was adorned with ornaments (*προστηθίδια*), and sometimes they wore ornamented reliefs[514] (*τύποι*), pendants, ear-rings and finger-rings. They also wore their hair long, which earned for them the epithet of 'long-haired';[515] they sometimes dedicated a lock of hair to the Goddess. By preference they had their hair bleached. On the day of mourning for Attis they ran around wildly with dishevelled hair,[516] but otherwise they had their hair dressed and waved like women.[517] Sometimes they were heavily made up, their faces resembling white-washed walls.[518] The galli were also very conspicuous[519] when they showed themselves in the city outside the temple precincts. With a procession of enthusiastic followers[520] they wandered about begging;[521] in exchange for alms they were prepared to tell people's fortunes[522] (*vaticinari*); they performed their dances to the shrill music of the pipes and the dull beat of the tambourine.[523] When the deity had entered into them and they were possessed by divine power they flogged themselves until the blood came.[524] In Italy such processions of flagellants during Passion Week have continued[525] until the present day, the Madonna being the patroness of these *Re penitenti* (penitent kings).

The front of an altar, presumably of Roman provenance and at present in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,[526] shows Cybele with two galli, who are standing beside her in an attitude of mourning. On the right side a pine-tree with some musical instruments is represented, and on the left a procession of four galli in oriental attire. On their shoulders they carry a wooden scaffold, on which a throne with a footstool has been erected. The empty throne,[527] symbol of Cybele, is flanked by the statues of

two tree-bearers, who are holding on to a decorated tree-trunk. On the throne is a round basket with lid (*cista*)[528] [Clemens Al., *Protr.*, II, 22, 4]. In the top of the altar an aperture has been provided, which could be closed by a lid and was probably intended for the storing of sacred cult-objects.

About the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) of the galli we possess a good documentation mainly through archaeological finds,[529] and recently Lambrechts[530] published a hitherto unknown monument of the archigallus Asclepius from Pessinus (Ballihisar), where he excavated on a large scale. During the Hellenistic period there were in this old centre of the Cybele cult two high priests of the temple, one with the title of Attis, and the other with the name of Battakes. Both were eunuchs.[531] Later on, during the Flavian period, we meet in the East another organization consisting of ten priests headed by a high priest. These priests still have the title of Attis, but they are Roman citizens and are no longer castrated, but truly Eastern priests may still have had the right of castration. Naturally there was a difference between the sacerdotal institutions in the East and in the West, probably as a result of an imperial reorganization, generally ascribed to the emperor Claudius. Lambrechts even supposed that from then on there may have been two colleges of priests at Pessinus, a Romanized one, presided over by an *archiereus*, and a Phrygian one with an archigallus as high priest; after a second reorganization by Antoninus Pius, the head of the cults of Cybele and Attis in Rome may always have been an archigallus who in an inscription[532] is also called the *sacerdos Phryx maximus*.

These high priests had an enormous influence in local politics, as well. Several letters, inscribed on three marble blocks and belonging to the temple of Cybele at Pessinus, were copied in 1859 in the Armenian cemetery at Sivrihissar, to which they had been removed. They preserve a correspondence between the Attalids of Pergamum, who built the temple, and the high priest Attis. These letters date from 163–156 BC and were respectively sent by the kings Eumenes II and his brother Attalus II; of these letters, inscribed only in the late first century BC, there is an excellent edition by C. Bradford Welles,[533] whose translation is here quoted:

[56] King Eumenes to Attis, greeting. If you were well, it would be well; I also was in good health. I have received your letter in which you showed me what had been written concerning your brother Aioiorix. You were then absolutely right in trying to oppose him. Would that the Goddess had cared for her priests who have been and are being insulted, and had deprived the one who did these things of what he most desires; otherwise may he become sane of mind and reverent and send back the offerings. . . .

[59] Attalus to priest Attis, greeting. If you were well, it would be well; I also was in good health. Menodorus gave me your letter in which you wrote that having learned that my brother had come to the camp you sacrificed to the gods for our safety; and he spoke. . . .

Letter No. 61 was written by Attalus after he had become king,[534] on the death of his brother in 159. Apparently the last of the letters, it is the only one which states clearly the circumstances with which it deals. A conference between the king and the priest had taken place in Apamea Cibotus, on the Meander (line 5), and it had been agreed that a joint military campaign should be undertaken against unnamed opponents, probably the Gauls. Upon his return to Pergamum, however, Attalus called a meeting

of his state council and laid the matter before them. In the course of several days' deliberations there developed a strong sentiment against aggressive action in defiance of Rome, and the king, himself convinced, wrote to Attis withdrawing his promise of cooperation.

At a later date, in 103 BC, rather more than a hundred years after the Goddess had arrived in Italy, a certain Battakes set out upon a journey from Pessinus to Rome. Both Diodorus[535] and Plutarch[536] – in their accounts of Marius – supply the background information to this undertaking, as at that time Marius had been appointed to repel the Cimbri and the Teutoni who were threatening Italy. Apparently the holy city of Pessinus was also in some sort of danger, and so the high priest Battakes applied to his Roman patrons for support. In the Senate House he declared that, as at the time of the Punic wars, the Goddess again predicted victory and supremacy for Rome (*νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου*). As before, Rome hastened to promise the Goddess another temple. Battakes, as a respected guest of the Roman people, was given an opportunity to address the people from the *rostra*. His audience was deeply impressed by the oriental splendour: his long robe embroidered with golden flowers, the precious gems and the gold crown. But A. Pompeius, a plebeian tribune, with a party of friends chased him from the platform and called him a beggar (*ἀγύρτης*). Pompeius went home, developed a fever and died after a few days. One can imagine the awe and respect the people showed Battakes at his ceremonial departure.

In the West the head of the galli was the 'arch-cock' (archigallus). On the evidence of some inscriptions Carcopino[537] tried to prove that this title was introduced when the Attis cult was organized by the emperor Claudius. Archaeological finds have furnished us with some clear representations of both the gallus and the archigallus. First of all, a marble statue from Rome (pl. 65), which was still in Paris in 1718, shows a standing priest (gallus) in a long robe.[538] He is wearing a *προστηθίδιον*,[539] a neck-chain suspended from which is a large temple-shaped decoration, depicting – apart from Cybele, standing between Hermes and Zeus – a reclining Attis with shepherd's hook. Attached to the corners of this medallion are two round lockets, each with a bust of Attis. The priest wears two more heavy neck-chains. A cord with grip and tassel, hanging from the left shoulder, is the whip for the castigation.

A relief[540] from the middle of the second century AD, and therefore a little earlier than the preceding statue, has fortunately been preserved in a less damaged condition (Rome, Capitoline Museum). The priest wears a heavily draped gown with long sleeves (*tunica manicata*), which is elegantly thrown round the hips. On his head he has a diadem, delicately decorated with laurel-leaves, and three medallions, the central one showing a bearded deity (perhaps the river Sangarios), and the other two busts of Attis. On either side of the head long chains are hanging down. Round his neck he wears a curved band (*torques*), which tapers at both ends into a lion's head, and on his breast a temple-shaped medal with a mourning Attis figure. In his left hand he has a basket filled with fruits, the ever-recurring gifts of the Earth Goddess to the mortals. With his right hand he raises a holder in the shape of a poppy containing three myrtle-branches, clearly intended for the aspersion of the faithful (*aspergillum*). Over it and on the wall two cymbals are hanging from a cord. On the other wall there are a tam-

bourine, a straight flute and a curved one, a basket for sacred objects and the terrible scourge of three lashes, fitted with rows of hard rings. Its wooden holder is slung over the left shoulder, the ends decorated with the bearded heads of the river Sangarios.

A laurel-crown, bearing three ornamented medallions,[541] an elaborately twined neck-chain with a gem in the middle and a round pin (*fibula*) with head are all to be found again in the sepulchral relief of L. Lartius Anthus,[542] a basket-bearer (*cistophorus*) of the goddess Bellona (Rome, Capitoline Museum). The relief was found on the Monte Mario in Rome, near the Vatican, where the sanctuary of her sister-goddess, Cybele, was situated. Anthus – his name suggests oriental descent – has a laurel-branch in his raised right hand, and a double axe (*bipennis*) rests against his left elbow. On his left a basket stands on the ground, referring to his title of basket-bearer.

Of the same type and also from the third century AD is the bust[543] of an oriental priest (Capitoline Museum), who instead of a crown wears a veil on his head (*capite velato*), with graceful head-bands, bracelets, and precious rings. The extravagant necklaces are getting bigger and more expensive. The large *torques* terminates on the breast in a medallion, decorated with a representation of the Goddess with mural crown. A child, no doubt Attis (see p. 93), thirstily reaches for her right breast. In his left hand the priest has a wooden board, attached to a handle. The edge of this board is decorated with a motif of Amores and dolphins, and on top of it stands an altar, flanked by two lions. The right hand is depicted with the palm raised in benediction (*benedictio*). With its thick lips and prominent cheek-bones this figure is clearly of an oriental type.

Then there is the impressive monument of the archigallus[544] from the cemetery (*sepulcretum*) at Portus, near Ostia (pl. 66). This sepulchral marble dates from the second half of the third century AD. There, on a funerary couch, the high priest rests as on some Etruscan tombs: he represents Attis himself about to be overtaken by death. His eyes are still wide open; the left hand supports the heavy head, its face deeply furrowed (pl. 67). The pouches under the eyes and the outstanding ears are realistically Roman. The right foot seems to grope for support in the light basket, out of which a serpent has escaped; in the same way as his colleague Anthus he holds a leafy branch in his right hand. He wears a long-sleeved *tunica* with a mantle thrown over it, long trousers (*anaxyrides*) and laced sandals, a fillet round his head and a bracelet (ὄκκαβος), delicately worked with a representation of the enthroned Goddess with Attis by her side. Two other reliefs from the same sepulchre depict the archigallus, whose name remains unknown, performing the duties of his office. Crowned, and with a little saucer in his left hand, he is burning incense for his patroness[545] on a small altar (*thymiaterion*). The Goddess is seated on her throne between two burning torches. She is wearing a long robe and the mural crown, and a splendid necklace (*pectorale*). Mercury, the god of commerce, who, though less important than herself, was very influential in Ostia, is standing before her with his *caduceus* and a money-bag in his hands.

Equally faithfully the archigallus, wearing the same crown, is seen to worship the god Attis (pl. 68).[546] Now he himself is holding the two burning torches before the statue of the Phrygian god, which has been erected on a high pedestal under a pine-tree. Attis holds a shepherd's crook in his left hand and his reed-pipe in the other, while cymbals hang from the tree.

When comparing these finds with the texts one can easily understand why Roman opinion was deeply divided about this Eastern cult. The East was found to be given to excess. One need only re-read the texts to realize how the stern Roman under Sulla, Pompey, Caesar or Augustus felt at a loss in these fairy-like oriental surroundings, which differed so widely from the old Roman and Italian traditions. The oriental tends to be extravagant in his ornamentation. Two examples of such ornaments from Rome, and presumably of the same provenance, are now housed in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.[547] They may be connected with Cybele, for it is not impossible that these gilt bronze bands were diadems, worn by priests. Of the one this is practically certain, as the curved band is decorated with leaves, rosettes and busts of Attis and Cybele. Of the two temple-shaped little medals that are linked by hinges this is less sure. The more undamaged part shows Cybele enthroned, with Hermes and Attis as paladins; in the pediment the head of Sol is visible over his *quadriga*. The background consists of bells, a double-pipe and, over the mural crown of the Goddess, a triumphal wreath. The other medal depicts, surrounded by a variety of symbols, the Thracian god Sabazius, who is often ranked with the Israelite Sabaoth.

Other finds, and especially inscriptions, make it obvious that the Cybele-worshippers, like the followers of Isis, loved to display oriental pomp, this in contrast with the Mithraists, who always preserved simplicity, however rich they might be.

The *Taurobolium* and the *Criobolium*

When looking at the paintings in the palaces of ancient Crete one wonders at the audacity and courage of the young girls as they perform their astonishing feats at bull-jumping. With complete self-control they coolly calculate the moment when the enraged bull will charge them. For one long second they remain quietly standing, poised before the perilous leap; then suddenly they grasp the horns and turning a somersault clear the animal's back as it rushes past. Thus the powerful animal of the Supreme God, Zeus, of Minos and the labyrinth,[548] is outwitted by feminine guile and agility.

A gold cup from Vaphio[549] (*c.* 1500 BC) shows the ensnared animal being brought to submission after a net has been cast (*βάλλειν*) over it. From the hunting of the bull, which is also encountered in Asia Minor, as well as from its slaughter and the ensuing banquet, Fr. Cumont[550] sought to derive the word *taurobolium*. It would thus signify 'The capture or killing of the bull', which he associates especially with the War goddess Mâ-Bellona. Similarly *criobolium*[551] would mean 'The capture or killing of the ram'. The two terms are frequently found on altars erected to the Magna Mater and Attis. Most of these altars bear a ram's head or a bull's head as decoration, with occasionally on one of the sides a hooked sword (*ensis hamatus*), which the poet Prudentius in *c.* AD 400 refers to as a hunting-spear (*venabulum*). Therefore it looks as though we are here dealing with an ancient custom requiring the use of this particular weapon for the slaying of the bull. Whether the practice of bull-slaying reached the West directly from Asia Minor, and if it did, whether it came via the cult of Bellona

together with the Phrygian Goddess, is still an open question, for it is remarkable how disappointingly little information is available from sources in Asia Minor itself. There exist a few reliefs in which a group of sacrificers are seen to offer a ram to the Goddess, but these monuments are relatively late.[552] Two inscriptions from Pergamum (135 BC)[553] and a third from Troy (*c.* AD 100)[554] make passing mention of the killing of a bull or ram on such occasions as the festivities in honour of Trajan. That is all the information we possess.

The earliest inscription in Italy comes from Puteoli[555] (Pozzuoli) and is dated AD 134. It reads: 'Under the consulship of Lucius Iulius Ursus Servianus, on 7 October, Herennia Fortunata repeated an *ecitium*, the *taurobolium* of Venus Caelestis and a *pantelium* on the command of the Goddess and through the action of the priest Titus Claudius Felix.' The relatively late date is immediately striking. Even if this altar tells of the repetition of a *taurobolium* that had taken place twenty years earlier (vicennial repetitions occur), there is no evidence that even a single bull-slaying was performed in the first century AD. Moreover, this inscription mentions the Celestial Venus and not Cybele, but as all the other *taurobolia* do mention the Phrygian Goddess it may be assumed that in this case Venus was equated with Cybele.[556] The enigmatic terms *ecitium* and *pantelium* constitute another problem. For *ecitium* a goat sacrifice (*αἴξ*/*αἰγός*) has been suggested, and *pantelium* may have been derived from the Greek word *παντέλειον* = a complete dedication.[557] Finally it is remarkable that this earliest inscription does not originate from Rome itself, where the first-known reference to the *taurobolium* was made only in AD 295; thereafter they continue till AD 390.

If we want to find out more about the rites of the *taurobolium* we only have late sources to fall back on. The most reliable and detailed description is found in a long polemical poem of the Christian poet Prudentius,[558] written *c.* AD 400 and called 'On the Martyrs' Crowns'.

> Deep down into the pit the priest descends,
> His temples with elaborate ribbons bound
> And crowned with gold; his sacerdotal robe
> Is made of silk, and in old Roman style
> Tight round his waist traditionally girt.
> Across the pit is laid a board of planks
> Too loosely joined in careless workmanship
> And in its surface holes are cut and drilled;
> The wood is riddled through, and everywhere
> The eye discovers crevices and cracks.
> The formidable bull with lowering brow
> Whose horns and withers are with garlands decked
> Is presently escorted to the spot;
> His forehead glitters with the trembling gold
> And little golden discs flash on his flanks.
> The victim is thus quite rigged up to die
> And with the sacred spear they penetrate its chest;
> The wound gapes wide and pours in mighty waves
> A stream of gushing blood over the wood,
> An all-pervading odour spoils the air.

Through thousand fissures now the shower drips
Of sordid fluid down the dismal pit
And on his head the priest catches the drops
With utmost care, his vestment soiled with blood
And all his body dabbled with the gore,
Nay, bending backwards he presents his face,
His mouth and cheeks now to the scarlet flood;
His eyes he washes in the gory flow.
He moistens then his palate and his tongue
And sucks and sips and gulps the sombre blood.
The bloodless rigid body of the beast
Is dragged away now from its wooden bed;
The priest, a gruesome sight, emerges from the pit
And shows his head, his soggy bloody beard,
His ribbons and his robe, drenched with the blood.
Defiled by the atrocious sacrifice,
Polluted by his recent horrid bath
He is respectfully, but from afar, saluted
Because the crowd has seen how in his tomb
A bull's inferior blood has washed him clean.

According to Prudentius the high priest (*summus sacerdos*) descends into the pit in order to receive the consecration (*consecrandus*). He is in full ceremonials, his head and temples are decorated with woollen fillets and ribbons, in his hair he wears a gold crown and he is attired in a silken toga. Over the pit a wooden platform has been constructed. The blood of the bull, which has been killed by means of a sacred spear (*sacrato venabulo*), drips down through holes, drilled in the boards. The priest lifts his face, and even licks up the blood (*linguam rigat*). When the animal has been dragged away the priest comes out, a gruesome sight (*pontifex visu horridus*), and he is hailed and saluted by the crowd, and worshipped from a distance (*adorant eminus*) (fig. 30).

The pit is also referred to in another poem, written by an unknown poet[559] in AD 394 or 409. He, too, mentions the same nauseating spectacle (*sub terram missus, pollutus sanguine tauri*) as well as the person (*tauroboliatus*) smeared with blood. At Ostia several inscriptions referring to this blood-bath have been found near the sanctuary of Cybele and it is even thought that the old gate to Laurentum marks such a pit (*fossa sanguinis*), above which a ram or a bull could be killed[560] (pl. 45).

But what is the meaning, the essence of this *taurobolium*? Prudentius only mentions a candidate for dedication (*consecrandus*), and Firmicus Maternus[561] remarks (*c.* AD 350) that 'blood defiles, but does not redeem' (*polluit sanguis iste, non redimit*), this in contrast to Christ's blood. So the only facts we learn are that a *taurobolium* could be held on the occasion of a dedication, and that there may be a question of spiritual purification; for the rest we must glean our information from the inscriptions. These have recently been subjected to a renewed scrutiny by Duthoy who has concentrated his study especially on the terminology in order to try to learn more about the history of the *taurobolium*.[562]

The many votive altars commemorating a *taurobolium* or a *criobolium* have been found in practically every province of the Roman Empire, but outside Italy the

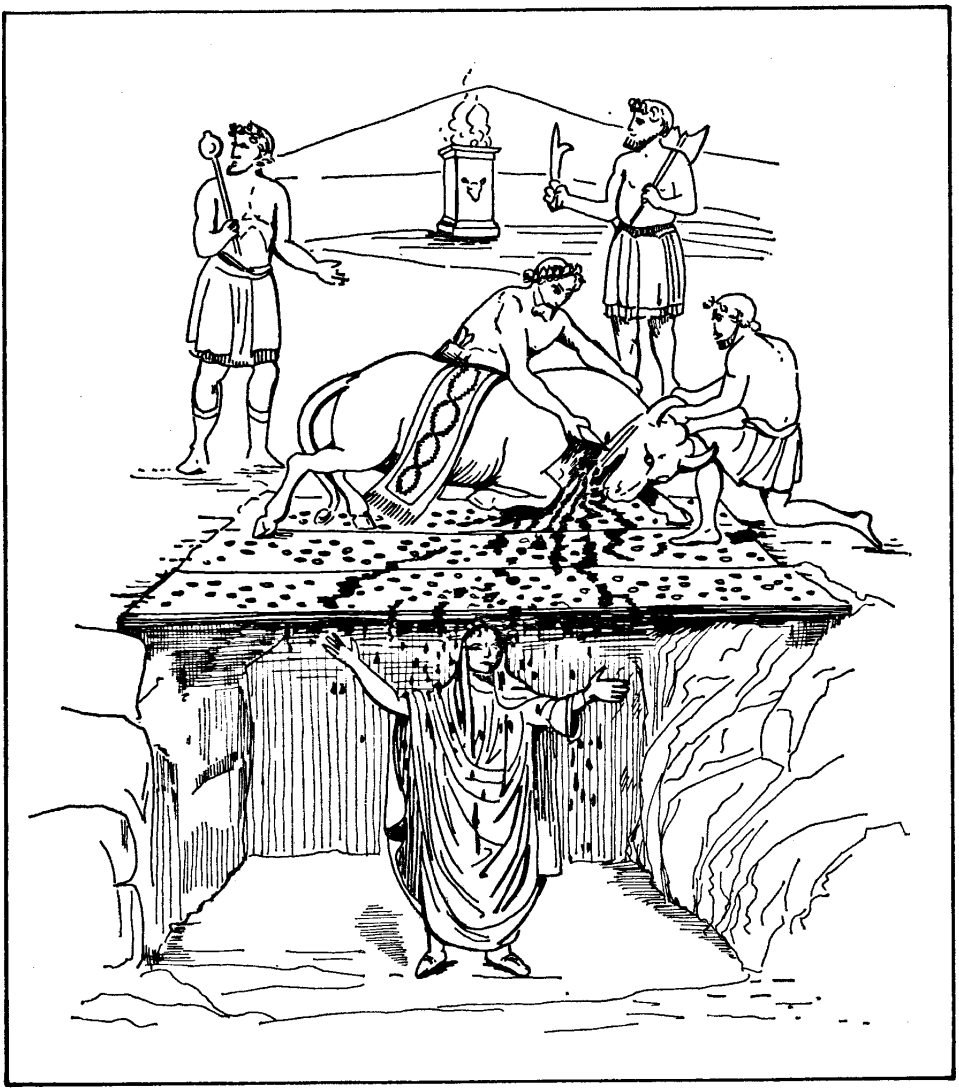


Fig. 30 The *taurobolium*

provinces of Spain, Gaul and Africa are most prominent (pl. 69). In Rome itself the ceremony did not take place near Cybele's sanctuary on the Palatine, but seems to have been confined to the Phrygianum of the Vatican. During recent excavations there more altars commemorating *taurobolia* were unearthed but of the sanctuary itself no information has become available as it lies buried under the Piazza San Pietro. Although the inscriptions are of late dates (more particularly of the fourth century) there can be no doubt that long before that time *taurobolia* had taken place in this area, the more so since inscriptions found both at Lyons[563] and at Mainz-Kastell[564] mention a Vatican of their own, constructed in imitation of the Rome example.

The ceremonies took place throughout the year, which means that they were not related to the March and April festivities. Only one inscription mentions 12 March as the date, and another may refer to 24 March. There is hardly ever incontestable proof that a festive day of another god justified a *taurobolium* to Attis or Cybele. At Ostia in particular and in the provinces records have been found from the period between AD 160 and the reign of Diocletian (285–93), stating that the sacrifice was made for the well-being of the ruling emperor, the Imperial House, the family, the Senate, the city, the army and the navy. This sort of *taurobolium*, therefore, is of quite a different nature from the sacrifice described by Prudentius. The expense of a bull or ram sacrifice was not always borne by a private person, but sometimes by a society (tree-bearers, reed-bearers) or by the State. And on one occasion it was even necessary to procure the money by means of a collection[565] (*ex stipe conlata*). Although Cybele is often invoked for the sake of victory (*victoria*) the ceremony might also be held in order to obtain a safe return (*reditus*) or security (*incolumitas*). The rite was performed (*facere, perficere*) by priests of Cybele or State priests, while frequently women and other initiates attended and assisted (*adsistere, astantibus sacerdotibus et sacratis*); occasionally a flute-player (*tibicen*) appeared.

On a number of altars one finds such terms as 'to take in the powers' (*vires excipere*), the 'hidden powers' (*vires conditae*) or 'to dedicate the powers' (*vires consecrare*). What is meant by these *vires*? Most scholars interpret them as the bull's or the ram's genitals, basing their assumption on a myth told by Clement of Alexandria,[566] who himself had once been initiated into the Phrygian mysteries. The myth relates how in order to show to his mother Deo how deeply he regretted his adventures, Zeus had thrown into her lap a ram's genitals, which he cleverly pretended to be his own *vires*. Clement adds: 'These are the mysteries the Phrygians celebrate in honour of Attis, Cybele and the Corybants', i.e. the myth was associated with Attis' passion for Cybele. In one case[567] there is mention of Valerius Gemina taking in the *vires* of Eutyches. In the rite emasculation, or the offer of substitute genitals of bull or ram, forms the enactment of the myth. Thus one identifies oneself with Attis and enters into a firm alliance with the Goddess.

Some inscriptions from Africa and one from Rome refer to a *taurobolium* and a *criobolium*, caught in a *cernus* (fig. 18). The *cernus*, a vessel to which several small cups have been attached, is well known from Greek rites. It has always been believed that it was the *vires* that were caught in the *cernus*, particularly since an inscription from Lyons (*CIL* XIII, 1751) informs us that in AD 160 a tree-bearer had caught the *vires*

and brought them with him from the Vaticanum (see p. 45 ff.). But Duthoy[568] has made it clear that the *cernus* may just as well have contained the bull's blood and that the *vires* were buried (*condere*). In short, the inscriptions do not supply sufficient evidence for the theory that only the *vires* should be connected with the *cernus*.

Another problem in connection with the *taurobolia* is the occurrence of the word birthday (*natalicium*). From a few data the inference has been drawn that the day of the *taurobolium* was the birthday of the *tauroboliatus*, and thus the day of his dedication. This, according to Duthoy,[569] is not necessarily so, since an altar in Lyons[570] unmistakably indicates that here a *taurobolium* altar was erected on the occasion of a real birthday (*aram tauroboli ob natalicium*). All the same this implies that a *taurobolium* was supposed to grant longevity; the proceedings with the *vires* may also point that way. By offering procreative organs to the Goddess one hoped to obtain from her a similar power and special protection. This theory is supported by the fact that sometimes a *taurobolium* is repeated, especially after a period of twenty years, and a line of verse by an unknown poet[571] of AD 394 reads: 'While you hope to live purely for another twenty years' (*vivere cum speras viginti mundus in annos*). Both decennial (*decennalia*) and vicennial (*vicennalia*) anniversaries were celebrated by the emperor, in particular, or else on his behalf, or otherwise these jubilees were wished on him.

Thus the vital power of a bull's blood was thought to have a certain influence on the life force of the human being. One altar in Rome[572] of AD 376 even bears the words 'reborn for eternity' (*in aeternum renatus*). This late inscription, dedicated by Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius, currently also head of one of the Mithras communities, already shows a tendency towards the incorporation into the Cybele rites of the eternity concept as it is found in other mysteries and in Christianity, Aedesius being a bitter enemy of Christianity, which at that time was about to gain the upper hand.

A good impression of the persons that celebrate a *taurobolium* is to be obtained at Lectoure (pl. 69). In this little Gallic town two series of inscriptions were found, each having been written in a single day. On the series of 18 October AD 176, many freedmen are mentioned. This is also true of the series of 8 December AD 241, which also repeatedly states that the sacrificial animals had been paid for by the persons themselves (*hostiis suis*), for instance Valentina,[573] the daughter of Valens, and her daughter Valeria. It is on this same day that Valentina Gemina receives the *taurobolium*. A striking detail is that on this occasion women were in a large majority, and the ladies must have been quite well-to-do.

Duthoy's research into the meaning of the *taurobolium* has led him, through certain variations of terminology, to distinguish three stages in a process of evolution:
1. Between AD 160 and 250 the verb *facere* is used, in connection with a bull sacrifice in honour of Cybele.
2. In the period 228–319 the verbs *accipere* (to receive) and *tradere* (to hand down, to pass) are found, together with references to the *cernus*; this would form an ill-defined transition period, in which the rite consists of the slaying of the bull and the passing of the blood into a *cernus*.
3. A third class of the period 305–90, during which the verb *percipere* (to take in) occurs, is a ceremony of purification.

Duthoy's inferences have met with some criticism. Robert Turcan[574] rightly observes that among the number of undated inscriptions which Duthoy has grouped into one of the three classes, there are probably some that may later upset the entire classification. Signs pointing in that direction have already been found on some dated altars, such as the one at Lectoure, which use two terms indiscriminately (*taurobolium fecit/accepit*), and should therefore, according to the above classification, belong in both the first and in the second period. Other objections have been raised by T. D. Barnes.[575] One of the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Aelius Lampridius,[576] relates in the fourth century how the emperor Heliogabalus received the dedication of the Mother of the Gods (*sacra accepit*) and observed the rite of the *taurobolium* (*tauroboliatus est*). If this is true, we again find the terms *accipere* and *tauroboliatus*, which should both belong to the second and third periods, whereas Heliogabalus (217–22) had already undergone the *taurobolium* before the second period. By that time the rite had even reached the Imperial Court on the Palatine, and though we know only of a dedication of the exceptional Heliogabalus, it should not be forgotten that later in the fourth century many members of prominent families submitted themselves to the rite. It is, however, not impossible that the historian Lampridius made use of contemporary terminology for the description of an event that took place in the beginning of the third century. Further discoveries may well throw more light on the study of the *taurobolium*.

Devotees and Their Functions

In one of his speeches against Verres Cicero[577] refers to the college of *decemviri* as honourable (*amplissimus*): this is not surprising, for whereas the *pontifex maximus*[578] exercises the supreme control over the State religion of the Old-Roman gods, these *decemviri* supervise the Greek and oriental cults, of which the Cybele cult was one. They were a subdivision of the college of fifteen[579] (*quindecimviri sacris faciundis*), representing the State at official ceremonies in honour of the Goddess. Recommendations for the nomination of new priests and priestesses had to be made to this college, and on approval the newly appointed official received a diploma signed by the deputy-chairman (*promagister*). Such official documents have been found, particularly in Italy itself. An inscription at Cumae[580] reads as follows:

> The *quindecimviri* salute the praetors and magistrates of Cumae. Your letter informs us of the choice of Licinius Secundus as the priest of the Mother of the Gods, replacing Claudius Restitutus, who has died. In compliance with your wish we have given him permission to wear the bracelet and the crown, though only within the precinct of your colonial town. We wish you good health. To certify this I, Pontius Gavius Maximus, have signed this in the name of and in place of the chairman, today, the seventeenth of August [of the year 289], under the consulate of Marcus Umbrius Primus and Titus Flavianus Coelianus.

Who were the actual priests in the Phrygian cult? To begin with, of course, the archigallus (see p. 96 ff.), an office that certainly after the first century AD could be held

even by a Roman citizen. Sometimes the high priest is the *summus sacerdos*,[581] who at his ordination (*consecratio*) had to undergo the blood-baptism (*taurobolium*) (see p. 101 ff.). He was a seer (*vates*) and gave oracles (*vaticinatio archigalli*);[582] he officiated at the festivities (*sacrorum antistes*) and ceremonies. In an exceptional case[583] an archigallus is known to have been appointed at the age of seventeen and to have performed his duties until the age of seventy-five (*sacra confecit*). They were certainly appointed for life.

Not every sanctuary had its own archigallus, and more particularly in the provinces one single priest was supposed to be sufficient for the temple service; occasionally there were two, the more important one being the *sacerdos primo loco*.[584] They were chosen by the local town council and the municipal officials. These priests often seem to have held another municipal function, either simultaneously or afterwards. The inhabitants of the little town of Compsa in Samnium[585] raised money to erect an honorary statue for a Cybele priest, perhaps their burgomaster. The sepulchral monument (Vatican Museums) of L. Valerius Fyrmus, priest of Isis in Ostia and temple priest of Cybele in Trastevere, bears the representation of such a local dignitary of the second century AD.[586] He wears a conical cap, an undergarment, cloak, trousers and shoes. In his hands he holds a staff and a scroll, which denotes that he was a scholar (cf. the *pater* of the Mithras cult). This is corroborated by the two boxes (*capsae*) for the scrolls that are standing in the niche over a lotus decoration (recalling Isis) on the left. Higher again there is a jug (*olla*), and on the left a decanter with a cock (*gallus*) is visible. Fyrmus states that he had the monument erected for himself: as a true Attis-initiate he was unmarried and therefore could not leave his grave in the charge of any next-of-kin. Furthermore, at the top of the monument there is an aperture with a ledge for a lid, probably intended for the ashes of the deceased; moreover the two boxes are decorated, one with the representation of a phallus, the other showing the bust of the Sun god in a *nimbus*.

The priests and the other members of the temple staff are represented in detail in a painting in the Via dell'Abbondanza at Pompeii.[587] On the front and over the entrance of the house of M. Vecilius Verecundus are the busts of the Sun god, Jupiter, Hermes-Mercury and the Moon goddess; on the left, beside the door, a panel represents Venus and Amor – this goddess frequently turns up in the Cybele cult – and on the right a 'snapshot' of the participants in a procession (pl. 46). This scene shows four men about to carry away a wooden bier (*ferculum*) with a statue of the Goddess, who is solemnly seated on a star-spangled throne in full ceremonials. She holds a staff and a libation bowl; two small lions are squatting at her feet. The painting brings to mind a line in Ovid's *Fasti* (185): *Ipsa sedens molli comitum cervice feretur* = 'Mourned, she herself will be carried on the soft necks of the companions through the streets of the town'.

These *comites* wear laurel-wreaths in their hair. A priest and a priestess in white garments are clearly prominent. In his left hand the priest has a little saucer, and with his right he strews some fruits or grain into a basin standing before him on a raised base. The priestess holds a tambourine in her raised left hand. For the rest the procession is composed of women. One of them, behind the priest, has an olive-branch

and a saucer in her hands; another holds cymbals. To the right of the priestess stands a flute-player, dressed in a short mantle. He is accompanied by three women with tambourines and cymbals. On the extreme left, on the ground, there is a little wooden temple (*naiskos*), containing a bearded head and a crown of leaves. Presumably this is a representation of Dionysus, although he makes one think of the river Sangarios, in spite of the leaves in his hair. Two men are standing around, one of whom holds a horn adorned with a ribbon and filled with fruits (*cornucopia*).

A similar procession is depicted in a livelier fashion on a sarcophagus in the portal of S. Lorenzo in Rome.[588] To the accompaniment of clarion calls the procession moves along. Most of the worshippers are little men, stooping under a heavy load, consisting of a statue of Cybele seated on a high throne, with two menacingly rearing lions before it; then comes the statue of a winged Victoria.

Finally, a relief from Vienne (*Colonia Iulia Vienna Allobrogum*) in the south of France represents a sacrifice to the Phrygian gods:[589] it probably dates from the second century AD. It is badly damaged, yet it clearly displays – in the background against the wall – the shepherd's crook, conical cap and flute of Attis. A priest in a gracefully draped garment is bending slightly forward, stretching out his right hand to put on an altar one of the fruits he carries in his other hand. Behind him a servant, his back turned towards the spectator, holds a cloth in his left hand and looks at a woman, who raises a burning torch with her right hand, whereas in her left hand she has an indefinite object, which is attached to a handle. R. Turcan[590] interprets it as a mirror and assumes that here the Syrian Goddess (*dea Syria*) is personally present. However, it seems safer to explain her as a priestess who assists at the sacrifice (*ministra*).

Many priestesses (*sacerdos*; ἱερατεύουσα) of the cult are known. Their choice, too, had to be sanctioned by the *quindecimviri*. The title of *sacerdos maxima*, which occurs in Rome,[591] suggests a certain hierarchy. This is seen inscribed on the relief in the Vatican Museums,[592] depicting the priestess Laberia Felicla (pl. 41), emerging Venus-like from a large shell and wearing a tunic and a mantle draped over her head. The head is not original, while some restorer has changed into plaits the string of pearls that hangs down on to her shoulders. From the inscriptions it also appears that the priestesses and their assistants (*ministrae*) were initially chosen from the class of the freed women; only in Rome do we learn of a high priestess who here succeeded her Phrygian predecessor.[593] They, too, were under the supervision of the *quindecimviri*. They took part in the sacrificial ceremonies and processions, and they performed the special services for women. They were the industrious bees (*melissae*), who supervised the inferior members of the staff and they carried the sacred vessels (*cernophorae*), or acted as mourners (*praeficae*) during the days of mourning in March.

A touching epitaph of a priestess as Cybele is to be seen in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.[594] The sepulchral monument, a large marble pedestal for a statue, was erected shortly after AD 384 by Aconia Fabia Paulina in commemoration of her husband, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus,[595] who had played an extremely important part in the religious and political life of Rome. He is known as a leader of the anti-Christian party and was together with his friend Symmachus a fierce champion of the preservation of the old Roman cults. Paulina praises her husband in a eulogy, be-

cause it had been he who had led her into the temple and had dedicated her as a hand-maiden to the Goddess.

> Under your eyes I have been initiated into all the mysteries; you, my pious partner in life, honour in me the priestess of the Goddess of Mount Dindymus and of Attis, while you ordained me with the bull's blood; you teach the threefold mystery to me, priestess of Hecate; you prepare me to become worthy of the mysteries of Ceres, the Greek goddess. Thanks to you everybody honours my happiness and my piety, for you go about all over the city, proud of my virtues, and from being unknown my name now spreads throughout the universe.

Praetextatus, in his turn, delivers a panegyric (*laudatio*) on his wife. The text illustrates how even in the fourth century AD, when the mystery cults were already on the decline, the higher intellectuals remained under the spell of the oriental gods.

The priests and priestesses were surrounded by various groups of other temple-servants. Some attended to the daily routine (*curatores*), cleaning the temple and assisting in the administrative work. The *apparatores*, on the other hand, looked after the sacristy with its sacred objects (*apparatorium*), marshalled the processions and were generally busy on the feast days and at the public ceremonies. Sometimes the temple had a special caretaker (*aedituus*).

Music played a large part in the cult. First of all special use was made of those instruments which Cybele and Attis themselves played and are often represented with on the monuments. The procession at Pompeii had women with tambourines (*tympanistriae*), who, according to Lucretius,[596] 'strum the braced skins with their hands' (*tympana tenta tonant palmis*). Women with cymbals are found there as well (*cymbalistriae*), or rather, in the words of Propertius,[597] with 'the round bronzes of Cybelle' (*aera rotunda Cybelles*). These cymbals are often seen hanging by ribbons from Attis' pine-tree; an example with an inscription was dedicated to the Mother of the Gods by Camellius Tutor in the Jura Mountains at Grozon[598] in a cave near the cathedral of Notre Dame (now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). And then there are the flute-players (*tibicen*; *tibico*), who during the ceremonies played the reed-flute (*syrinx*), the twin-flute, the straight pipe (*tibia*), or the curved one (*cornu*). And, as has recently been explained by Picard,[599] it is not impossible that even an organ was played, as well. Nor should the choristers be forgotten (*hymnologi*). They accompanied the music and recited sacred hymns, of which according to several writers (Catullus; Hippolytus) they had quite a collection.

Festivals in Asia Minor and Greece

In the various works on the cult of Cybele and her beloved Attis the latter has often been an object of controversy, and that mainly for apologetical reasons:[600] when did Attis begin to come more into prominence; when were special festivals in his honour first organized; did he rise from the dead? Such issues tend to become controversial when right from the start they have been raised to support a subjective theory. More particularly in the past many scholars,[601] in imitation of James Frazer's famous *The*

Golden Bough,[602] wanted to fit all possible deities within one framework, and in this case it was the figure of a god dying and rising again. Other scholars, again, follow in the footsteps of the early-Christian apologists. According to them it is *a priori* impossible for paganism to have influenced Christianity. If there was any similarity of thoughts or ideas, then this had been willed by Providence in order to make the time ripe for the reception of Christianity. In short, the ancient religions – and especially the so-called mystery cults[603] – have in this way become the focusing point of certain interests that have hardly favoured an objective study.[604] Therefore the various sources must now be submitted to a renewed scrutiny and appreciated at their proper value.

After the historian Herodotus,[605] who deals extensively with the story of the Lydian Attis, the first really interesting text about Attis is a piece of information that, according to the lexicographer Harpocration,[606] was supplied by the historian Neanthes of Cyzicus (third century BC). Neanthes, coming from a town where according to the finds Cybele was devoutly worshipped,[607] calls the Attis legend a mystery tale (*μυστικὸς δε ὁ λόγος*). In other words, the legend has become reflected in the cult. Pausanias,[608] in dealing with the temple of Cybele and Attis at Dyme, writes that he is not at liberty to tell who Attis actually is, for this is a mystery (*ἀπόρρητον*). But – Pausanias continues – the poet Hermesianax of Colophon (born *c.* 300 BC) does tell us about it. Attis was the son of the Phrygian Kalaos, and at his birth it was already clear that he would never be able to beget any children (*οὐ τεκνοποιὸς*). From Phrygia he then moves to Lydia, where he instructs the people in the holy rites of the Mother (*ὄργια ἐτέλει Μητρὸς*). Then he is killed by a boar. In discussing Alexandrian poetry[609] we shall see how on his way from Phrygia to Lydia the eunuch had been worried by a lion. This motif belongs to the 'mission tales' of the Phrygian cult, but the pitiful story of Attis being killed by a boar is the Lydian version. However, the shepherd in this story is a true worshipper of Cybele, though not himself a god. A different view is expressed in the second century BC by Nicander of Colophon[610] in his *Alexipharmaca*, a poetic-didactic treatise of poisons and antidotes. The poet exclaims: 'Did you happen to live near the turbulent sea under the Bear in the north, where the caves of Rhea Lobrine are, and the mystery spot (*ὀργαστήριον*) of Attis.' So here mention is made of a sacred cult-place for Attis, which means that here, in the Lobrine Mountains near Cyzicus,[611] Attis enjoyed divine veneration. The ancient notes (*scholia*) to these lines of verse explain[612] that 'the chambers of Lobrine (*Λοβρίνης θαλάμαι*) are sacred, subterranean places where the worshippers of Attis and Rhea who had emasculated themselves used to come and deposit their genitals'. This same annotator immediately adds the Lydian version of Attis' death by a boar, and says that the Goddess buried him where the Phrygians mourn him in spring.[613] It is remarkable that thus while the Lydian version of Attis' death is mentioned in the *scholia* yet reference to the galli is an allusion to and a link with the Phrygian version of the legend, according to which Attis' death was caused by his emasculation. The sophist Eutekmios[614] (second century AD) comments upon Nicander's text as follows: 'and they maintain the mysteries of Rhea, and Attis' wedding and all that belongs to it, as far as it is celebrated by them.' The mention of Attis' wedding can only refer to

his alliance with Cybele, for an inscription[615] from Asia Minor mentions the newly-wed king Attis. Or does this refer to Attis' ill-starred marriage with Midas' daughter,[616] when during the wedding feast the Goddess drove him to such madness that he emasculated himself? The Phrygian people mourn him, but nowhere is it said that this spring commemoration was accompanied with feasts of rejoicing at the rebirth of Nature.

In this connection the original version of the Attis myth, as recorded by Diodorus (first century BC), must be considered.[617] Here Cybele herself is a king's daughter, who had been abandoned after her birth. But at an early age already she appears to be a Mountain Goddess, for in the mountains she is fed by panthers and other wild animals. But she is taken in by a shepherd's wife. She falls in love with Attis, and when she is expecting his child the king finds that she is his daughter. He has the women who had brought her up against his will put to death together with Attis, and the corpses are left unburied at the king's orders. In her madness Cybele flees into the wilderness and there sadly she roams. During her absence the country of Phrygia turns barren (*τῆς γῆς ἀκάρπου γενομένης*). The people pray for help, which will only be granted on condition that Cybele is worshipped as a Goddess and Attis be buried. As Attis' body has vanished (*ἠφανισμένου τοῦ σώματος*) they make an image (*εἴδωλον*) of him and mourn before it, and to Cybele they erect altars, on which they sacrifice annually. This, according to Diodorus, they had been doing up till his time. In Pessinus a temple is built for the Goddess. By the side of her cult-statue panther and lion statues are erected, because they had been the first to nourish the Goddess.

Some points of similarity with the earlier stories are evident. Attis is dead; he is not resurrected; every year his grave is bewailed to commemorate his passing. A feature from Eleusis has been added to all this; Cybele roams the countryside Demeter-like, her sorrow making it barren. But unlike Persephone, Attis is not granted a temporary return. The Phrygians have to make do with his image, and during their spring lamentation they can call Attis back only in their minds and in their ceremonies. His death is irrevocable; his parting is forever. In Greece itself Cybele was often compared with Demeter,[618] and at Eleusis the two Goddesses are sometimes found together in one relief.[619] But Attis never appealed strongly to the Greeks, and the rites in Attis' honour did not ever hold an important place in Greece any more than those of Mithras did. Attis was probably restricted to the temple grounds. Thus we find in the sanctuary of the Piraeus[620] the splendid relief (pl. 24) of *c.* 300 BC, in which Agdistis = Cybele has come to present her beloved shepherd (*βουκόλος*; *ποιμήν*) with a little vase. Another time[621] the Goddess is seen standing majestically next to her beloved bridegroom (*θαλαμηπόλος*) in a temple, while a mother and her daughter have come with gifts for both of them (pl. 57). It is remarkable that in this Hellenistic relief Attis has been depicted as large as the Goddess herself, whereas the terrestrial visitors to their abode are comparatively small and insignificant creatures.

The March Festivals in Rome in Honour of Attis

In a calendar for Furius Dionysus Philocalus[622] of the year AD 354 the special March festivals for Attis are listed as follows:

15 March	*Canna intrat*
22 March	*Arbor intrat*
24 March	*Sanguem*
25 March	*Hilaria*
26 March	*Requietio*
27 March	*Lavatio*
28 March	*Initium Caiani*

Latin scholars should not be scandalized by the use of *sanguem* for *sanguinem*, as this form also occurred in earlier stages of the language.[623] Further only the *lavatio* is mentioned in a calendar of AD 50,[624] inscribed on an altar, which came from Rome and is now housed in the Naples Museum; it tacitly ignores the other ceremonies. On the other hand in his treatise on the months (*de Mensibus*) the sixth-century Byzantine scholar Johannes Laurentius Lydos[625] makes mention of the feast of 22 March, adding the comment that 'the emperor Claudius created this'. This Claudius can only be the emperor who reigned AD 41–54, and not[626] Claudius II (268–70). From this it may be deduced that this emperor of the *gens* Claudia partly reformed the Attis cult. This seems the more likely since it was a member of the Claudian *gens*, the noble Claudia,[627] who had so miraculously received the Goddess into Rome in 204 BC (pl. 30); further, on the *Ara Pietatis* of Claudius[628] in the Via Lata (now the Corso) the Palatine temple of Cybele is portrayed in all its glory (pl. 32). But other scholars[629] go a good deal further and want to ascribe *all* the memorial anniversaries to Claudius. Against this theory well-founded objections can be raised. Thus Lambrechts[630] has endeavoured to show in a number of studies that in the first century AD Attis mainly appears as the mournful figure, and that the resurrection principle of the Hilaria does not occur until the end of the second century AD. The same period also witnesses the rise of the *taurobolia* – so closely connected with Attis – as well as that of the function of the archigallus. Lambrechts concludes, on literary rather than on archaeological grounds, that the reformation of the Attis cult was accomplished in two stages: the Tristia are to be attributed to Claudius, the Hilaria to Antoninus Pius (138–61), and, indeed, there is no denying that the cults of Attis and Cybele prospered greatly under both. However, it remains doubtful whether the various stages in the evolution of the cult correspond with the reconstruction of the Ghent school and whether they are directly connected with those two emperors. Let us therefore first reconsider the information available before the time of Claudius. Here the first outstanding problem is presented by the so-called Pythagorean Basilica near the Porta Maggiore whose construction is dated to the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37). The central figure in the vault of the nave turned out[631] to be Attis leading Ganymede to Olympus, i.e. to immortality. In that case Attis cannot but have his own place in Olympus next to the Mother of the Gods, and also be immortal himself.

Let us now return – with Ovid – to the Metroon on the Palatine, which has also supplied a considerable find of terracottas of *c.*25 BC. Here Romanelli,[632] who has also published them, has found dozens of Attis figurines of various types. Attis occurs standing, riding and sitting, and in some cases his bare abdomen denotes him unmistakably. For the most part he is found playing his *syrinx* amid his herd. He is clearly more than just a beloved shepherd. These statuettes are closely related to similar types from Macedonia; furthermore they are found in northern and southern Italy, and a marble statue of this type[633] even belonged to the Attideum at Ostia. The statuettes from Amphipolis in Macedonia were found in a necropolis, and they are certainly of an earlier date than those of the Palatine. This might mean that the statuettes had already been there long before, and that *in fine* Attis had long been worshipped alongside Cybele within the temple precincts. It is remarkable that some terracottas clearly represent Cybele. Moreover there is the type of Attis in high-necked winter-clothes, with a flat cap instead of the Phrygian one on his head. The emphasis lies on the depiction of Attis as a shepherd boy. Neither winged nor dancing Attis figures have been found among these terracottas, but then they hardly ever occur anywhere in terracotta; the dancing Attis is almost invariably cast in bronze.[634] At Tarsus, however, these figurines of a dancing Attis were already made in terracotta in the early-Hellenistic period. Anyhow, these fine statuettes of a gracefully dancing Attis prove that he was represented not only in a sorrowful attitude, nor merely in connection with death. They suggest gaiety (*hilaritas*), and where the texts fail to inform us of the early Hilaria festivities these very representations of a dancing Attis may indicate that this feast had been in existence before the end of the second century AD.[635]

According to the Phrygian tradition (*phrygio more*)[636] the passion plays of Attis in Rome also began 'in the spring'. The entry of the reed (*canna intrat*) on 15 March[637] probably commemorates the first days of Attis' life, when he was abandoned in the reeds on the banks of the Gallus, and, miraculously rescued,[638] was brought up by shepherds. A bronze statuette at Toulouse[639] shows the young Attis with a *syrinx* and a bundle of reed-stalks in his hands; on the funeral urn of M. Modius Maximus[640] Attis' head is depicted amid reed-stalks (see p. 96 and pl. 64): under it the head of the River god Gallos is seen, together with a squatting lion. On one of the side-scenes of the large cult-relief in the Mithraeum at Dieburg (Germany) the young Mithras is seen cutting the reeds with a sickle.[641] Mithras is here compared with the god of the harvest, Saturn. Similarly the society (*collegium*; *corpus*) of the reed-bearers first had to collect the reeds before carrying them in procession to the temple on the Palatine. Thus the cut-off stalks may refer to Attis' emasculation, which the emperor Julian[642] called the sacred harvest. And in this way the Day of the Reed can be said to commemorate his youth and his emasculation, but no further corroborative information has been preserved. According to Johannes Lydos[643] on this day a six-year-old bull was led along in the procession to be sacrificed by the high priest[644] and the reed-bearers in order to promote the fertility of the mountain meadows.

Duncan Fishwick[645] has made a thorough study of the epigraphical material, and particularly the dated inscriptions at Ostia concerning the *cannophori* (reed-bearers).

This body sometimes acted as a burial society, and admitted women as its members. None of the inscriptions can be dated before the latter half of the second century AD;[646] so Fishwick places the society and their participation in the March festivities in the final years of the reign of Antoninus Pius, when the Attis figure was given increasing importance. This supposition receives support from the fact that the procession of the reed-bearers took place one week before the other feast-days. On 16 March a nine-day period of fasting (*νηστεία*) and abstinence (*ἀγνείας καιρός*) began for the faithful.[647] They denied themselves the use of bread, wine,[648] certain fowl that were considered sacred, certain fruits such as dates and pomegranates, and finally fish and pork. Some of the faithful would even like to have seen this restriction imposed permanently (*in aeternum abstinentia*).[649] In this period, during which even the Mother of the Gods was deprived of her lover, the faithful also practised sexual abstinence (*castus Matris Deum*).[650]

On 22 March the 'entry of the tree' (*arbor intrat*) was celebrated. This is, of course, the pine-tree next to which Attis is so often depicted and under which – according to the representations at Ostia and Glanum – he collapsed after his fatal emasculation.[651] Picard[652] even assumed that on the altar at Périgueux (pl. 70) the pine-tree (*pinus*) rises from Attis' head, and in the Attis symbolism the pine-cone plays an equally important part.[653] An effigy (*simulacrum iuvenis*) of Attis was attached[654] to the tree (*arbor pinea*), decked[655] with purple[656] ribbons, which was then carried in procession (*πομπή*) into the temple by the society of tree-bearers (*dendrophori*). Before sunrise this tree had been cut (*ἐκτομὴ τοῦ δένδρου*) by the tree-bearers, mostly wood-cutters and timber merchants,[657] in the pine-wood (*pinea silva*), which was to be found near every Metroon (*lucus Matris Deum*), and then the tree was laid in state (*πρόθεσις*) in the temple as Attis himself. Amid ululations (*ululatibus*) and to the rhythmic[658] beating of the tambourine[659] Attis was mourned (*per tympana plangitur Attis*). These lamentations continued all through the next day. March 23 was the day of mourning.[660] On this day the 'dancing priests of Mars' (*Salii*) performed, and then cleansed their trumpets (*tubilustrium*). From a statement of the emperor Julian[661] we know that in the fourth century this feast of Mars, originally a fertility god, became part of the ceremonies on the Palatine. To the flourish of trumpets the priests marched round the temple of Cybele, martially beating their shields like Corybants. In this way the Roman god was at last integrated into the spring festivities of the oriental Attis.

The Day of Blood (*dies sanguinis*) is the name given to the ceremonies on 24 March. On this day the priests flagellated themselves until the blood came[662] and with it they sprinkled the effigy and the altars in the temple. The statue of a gallus in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (pl. 65)[663] represents such a *fanaticus*. The cord with grip and tassel hanging from his left shoulder represents the leather scourge (*flagellum*) armed with knuckle-bones with which they belaboured their chests and upper arms.[664] Moreover it happened that on the Day of Blood a *taurobolium* took place,[665] and in Lectoure on that very day in the year AD 239 the devoted Eutyches[666] made the bloody sacrifice[667] of his masculinity. During this final day, preceding the burial of Attis, additional fasting was required of the faithful. In all probability this abstinence was ended on the night of 24–25 March, when Attis had been laid in his grave and the new

gallus was inducted by the sacred order.[668] This night, which is also known from other mysteries, was called the *pannychis* or *mesonyctium*. The burial[669] of the pine-tree, which was burned later at an unknown point of time, was – according to Macrobius[670] – a descent (*katabasis*), not unlike that of the Eleusinian mysteries. The written information about the events of this 'holy night', in which the faithful kept watch over Attis' dead body and buried it, is not only extremely scanty, but it differs in respect of the time and is only to be found in Christian writers. Moreover, this ceremony was closely connected with the feasts of rejoicing which started in the early morning of 25 March. So here the greatest caution should be exercised in order to avoid unnecessary discussion and wrong conclusions.[671] In his book on the false doctrines of the pagan religions (*De errore profanarum religionum*), composed *c.* AD 350, Firmicus Maternus[672] describes a curious nocturnal ceremony of one of the mystery cults. The text reads as follows:

> During a certain night the statue is put on its back on a bier and is rhythmically mourned amid wailing. When they have then busied themselves long enough with this pretended mourning, light is brought in. Then the throats of all those who have cried are anointed by the priest, and after this anointing the priest mumbling slowly whispers the following words:
>
> *θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου·*
> *ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.*
>
> (Be of good heart, you novices, because the god is saved.
> Deliverance from distress will come for us, as well.)

The first part of Firmicus' story in itself would fit the *mesonyctium* of Attis and his followers extremely well. But the coherence and the context[673] of the second part, together with the vocabulary[674] (the formula *θαρρεῖτε*), argue in favour of a ceremony in the Isis and Osiris mysteries. All the same, the trend of the thought in the mysteries of Osiris and in the Attis mysteries is in this case closely connected. For in a fifth-century text the last words of the Osiris formula *ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία* are found again, albeit in a slightly different form *ἐξ ᾅδου σωτηρίαν*, but then in relation to Attis.[675] Rescue from Hades or from the Underworld suggests the idea of a resurrection, and in connection with the festivities of the Hilaria it may be assumed that these words apply to the ceremonies of the preceding night, when the descent (*εἴσοδος*) was followed by an *ἔξοδος*, a return.[676] Another text[677] definitely refers to the Attis mysteries, and the ceremony described may,[678] indeed, have taken place in the night of 24–25 March. Of this ceremony two versions are known to us. Clement of Alexandria,[679] who was strongly influenced by the mysteries,[680] gives the most detailed version of the formula (*τὸ σύμβολον*): *ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον · ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον · ἐκιρνοφόρησα · ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν*. 'From the tambourine I have eaten; from the cymbal I have drunk; I have borne the *cernus*; the room I have entered.' This formula, which Clement divides into four separate parts, occurs in Firmicus Maternus[681] in a more concise form, when he writes: 'In a certain temple a man who is dedicated to die pronounces the following formula in order to be admitted into the temple: *de tympano manducavi, de cymbalo bibi, et religionis secreta perdidici*, which in Greek reads: *ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἄττεως*.'

It is noticeable that the last two parts of Clement's formula have each time been rendered differently by Firmicus, i.e. 'I have learned the secrets of the cult' and 'I have become an initiate of Attis'. As to the first part M. Dibelius[682] has pointed out that this may refer to the preparation of the novice for his initiation.[683] This is the more likely as Firmicus has already mentioned the '*rite de passage*' of the man who, dedicated to die (*moriturus*), wants to enter the inner temple. The *symbolum* is then a 'password' or a passport to a higher dedication, which he can only undergo on condition that he has passed the preparatory dedications, and the expression 'I have become a *mystes* of Attis' should be interpreted along these lines. In this way both the Latin and the Greek conclusions of Firmicus' formula replace Clement's expression 'I have entered the room'. For what does this παστός mean? Doubtless the *interiores partes*, the innermost part of the temple in Firmicus' text. Only by entering that does one really become a *mystes* of Attis.[684] Another question that presents itself immediately is: what took place in the παστός? A. Dieterich[685] once pointed out that παστός (*cubiculum*) in most cases means 'bridal chamber' and so he arrived at the conclusion – which found great favour – that in the Attis ceremonies, too, there was a holy marriage between Attis and the Goddess, namely a hierogamy of the *mystes* and the Goddess. But this hypothesis is not very plausible, because in spite of the allusion made in the Attis myth to the love affair between Cybele and her beloved this motif is not the central interest of the cult.[686] On the contrary, the *leit-motif* is Attis' unhappy love that had been evoked by the temptations of the nymph or king's daughter, destroying the pure relationship with the Goddess. Besides, in the myth, Attis mainly occurs as the eunuch, the emasculated one. Therefore A. J. Festugière's[687] neutral interpretation of παστός as 'the room of the Goddess' (chambre de la déesse) seems definitely preferable. Festugière has also made a thorough examination into the entire terminology of Clement's phrase ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν. In the first place he points to the resemblance with the Orphic formula δεσποίνας ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν[688] 'I have crept to below the bosom of the mistress', i.e. penetrated as far as the womb of Persephone or Kore, who sits enthroned in the Underworld. So it is also possible to translate the Orphic symbol, as Festugière does, by 'I have descended into the bosom of the Mistress' (me voici descendu dans le sein de la Souveraine), which clearly implies a descent (κάθοδος) into the Underworld. This is the highest initiation (τελετή), and it will gain the *mystes* a better lot. In the Isis mysteries, at Eleusis,[689] and probably also in the Mithras cult,[690] a similar initiation occurs, which is designated by the term 'voluntary death' (*voluntaria mors*). The κόλπος of the Orpheans is then the παστός of the Attis *mystes*, i.e. a cave, a subterranean or hidden space in or near the temple. The terms used for it are *megaron*, *penetralia*, *adyton*, and sometimes θαλάμη or *cubiculum*.[691] The term ἄδυτον or ἄβατον 'out of bounds' or the *sacrarium intimum* means that it is accessible only to the highest initiates, the space representing Hades, as becomes clear from the description ἔδυν δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω = 'I have entered the house of Hades'. Let us now return to Firmicus' text concerning a person who had been dedicated to die (*moriturus*), and after that pronounced the *symbolum* or formula in order to be admitted to the innermost part of the temple. On the analogy of other mysteries the Attis *mystes* also knew this so-called voluntary death. After Attis had been laid in his grave he himself descended

(*katabasis*) into the Underworld in order to acquire – by means of the ceremonies – salvation (ἐξ Ἅιδου σωτηρία) already during his lifetime. And then he is – as it were – reborn (*renatus*), since he has seen the Goddess herself in the crypt,[692] just as Lucius had been allowed to in the Isis mysteries.[693]

Let us now go back to the text of Clement of Alexandria, who writes: 'I have borne the *cernus*' (ἐκερνοφόρησα). Athenaeus[694] describes the *cernus* as 'an earthenware vessel, holding within it a large number of small cups stuck together'. The *cernus* (see fig. 18) is best known from the Eleusinian mysteries, which, one may be sure, had a great influence on the development of the Attis mysteries. The smaller cups of the *cernus* contained 'a variety of cereals, representing a *panspermia*, that were being offered to the Goddess by the initiates in a service known as *kernophoria*'.[695] But what did the *cernus* contain in the Attis cult? Duthoy[696] has pointed out that the *cernus* is mentioned in inscriptions connected with the rite of the *taurobolium* and the *criobolium*, occurring in connection with the verb *tradere* (to hand, to deliver). Thus we find at Utica in North Africa[697] in the years AD 235–38 the phrase: 'after they had received the *cernus* and the *criobolium* at their own expense, the priests handing them over,' (*cerno et criobolio de suo acceptis tradentibus sacerdotibus*, etc.). Also in North Africa, at Mactar,[698] two bases were found with the formula *perfectis rite sacris cernorum una cum dendroforis et sacratis* (having accomplished the ceremonies of the *cernus* according to the rite, together with the tree-bearers and the initiates). Finally an inscription from Rome,[699] dedicated by Serapias, a priestess of Cybele and Proserpina(!) on 19 April AD 319, records a *taurobolium* received in the *cernus* at the hands of the priest (*taurobolium caerno perceptum per sacerdotem*).

Duthoy is of the opinion that in these expressions the term *taurobolium tradere* is really synonymous with *cernum tradere*, and that the *cernus* contained the bull's blood, and not his *vires*. Now it should not be forgotten that the *taurobolium* rite was never performed on the Palatine, and that the inscriptions that mention a *taurobolium* or *criobolium* hardly ever refer to the occasion of the March festivals. So it is better to keep the term 'I have borne the *cernus*' well apart from the *taurobolium* ceremony, unless one wants to assume that before entering the *adyton* of the temple the *mystes* had to state that he had observed the *taurobolium* rite and had borne the *cernus*. All these reflections make it clear that we simply do not have sufficient information to go beyond a hypothesis. As at Eleusis, a *cernus*-bearing ceremony did take place here, but what this ceremony consisted of and what the *cernus* contained remains a mystery.

Nor do the available data supply us with much information regarding the formula 'I have eaten from the *tympanum*, I have drunk from the cymbal'. Is this a pass-word, which had to be pronounced in order to gain admission into the *adyton*, and if so, can we trace its meaning? Or was it customary, as in the Mithras cult, to partake of a meal of bread and wine as a symbol of brotherhood, and a passport to eternity?

The only thing that is certain is that we have to do with a *symbolum*, a ritual formula,[700] similar to those we know from other cults. A small clue is offered by the poem of Catullus[701] in which the *tympanum* and the initiation into the Cybele cult are mentioned in one and the same breath. The *tympanum* and the cymbals are the inseparable instruments of Cybele and Attis, but whereas the cymbals are often depicted

in the representations of Attis the *tympanum* occurs more frequently in connection with the Goddess.[702] These musical instruments also play a part in the orgiastic service of Dionysus, which is closely related to that of Cybele. The wild music stirs the Bacchants to ecstasy, but in the later Rome of the fourth century AD mention is also made of the 'Orgies of Rhea'.[703] We have already seen (see p. 50) that in AD 377 Sabina, daughter of Lampadius, mentions in a short poem that she 'has experienced the orgies of Deo and the terrifying nights of Hecate'. This terminology suggests the initiation and the ceremonies of the March festivals, in which music played such an important part, certainly in the horrifying descent into the Underworld.

P. Boyancé[704] regards the formula concerning the musical instruments as a proof that the *mystes* has been subdued by the music. In that case the symbol of the mysteries would not refer to a communion rite of the community and to an actual partaking of food and drink, but to imaginary food, which exists only in the mind.[705] All the same one might just as well share the opinion of Graillot,[706] who prefers the partaking of real food and drink, actually served in the *tympanum* and the cymbal, since some texts seem to support this interpretation. There is in particular Firmicus Maternus[707] himself, who indignantly calls out to his co-religionists: 'You have no business with the food from the *tympanum*, you must seek the favour of wholesome food, and drink the immortal cup.' Since the Cybele rites are there so emphatically compared with Christianity, it might be supposed that the *tympanum* contained bread and the cymbal the wine. But we have seen that bread and wine were the very things that were forbidden during the festivities, unless it is assumed that an exception was made for this special occasion and that the novices were obliged to take bread and wine.[708] Another possibility is that as in other mysteries[709] the *mystes* was given milk,[710] like a newborn baby.[711] After all these conjectures it seems evident that we can make many suppositions, but that there is precious little we know with any certainty about the meaning of this enigmatic formula. Similarly nobody will be surprised that the discussion of the Hilaria on 25 March is also attended with great uncertainties.[712] The problems concern not only the actual events of the feasts, but more especially the date of its institution. First, therefore, we must examine the ancient texts and see how they may be supplemented by archaeological data.

The most striking result of this examination is that practically all the literary data about the Hilaria in Rome date from the late period, the majority even from the very latest period of the Imperial Age, while the archaeological data that can be connected with this festival and its meaning are all of an earlier date. Without accepting certain archaeological monuments as data of the Attis cult in general and of these Hilaria in particular, Lambrechts[713] has tried to prove that in the West Attis did not evolve into a god until the third century AD, and also that the Hilaria were not created before that time, and possibly even later. The word *hilaris*, from which many men derived their (cult-) name,[714] means 'cheerful'; consequently the Hilaria must have been a 'cheerful day', a day of joy. This is borne out by some texts.[715] The other data from literature are better placed in chronological order:

1. AD 69 Suetonius[716] mentions that the day on which the Cybele worshippers began their lamentation was unfavourable for the expedition of Vitellius. Lambrechts sug-

gests[717] that this day is 24 March; if these lamentations continued for some days the Hilaria cannot have taken place on the next day, but some days later, and therefore the Hilaria had no connection with the mourning. But to this F. Bastet[718] objects that the lamentations had already started on 15 March (*canna intrat*) or on 22 March (*arbor intrat*).

2. *c.* AD 80 In a poetic comparison with Medea's wedding Valerius Flaccus[719] depicts the Goddess in a cheerful mood after her bath. According to Lambrechts[720] the *lavatio* here precedes the Hilaria and he translates: 'So from the moment that the sacred Almo has cleansed the Mygdonian (i.e. Phrygian) lamentations and Cybele rejoicing is now borne through the town, accompanied by festive torches, who would still remember that the bloody wounds were recently inflicted in the temples?'

3. AD 136–37 Arrian[721] does not mention the Hilaria and calls the *lavatio* the end of the mourning. The text reads: 'They (the Romans) worship the Phrygian Rhea (Cybele), who has come from Pessinus, and the Phrygian mourning for Attis takes place in Rome, and as to the bath (the *lavatio*): Rhea is bathed in the manner of the Phrygians; that is the end of the mourning.'[722]

4. AD 187 Herodian[723] relates that in the beginning of the spring the Romans held a procession in honour of the Mother of the Gods. It is really a sort of carnival procession, for he emphasizes the fact that all sorts of pranks were permitted. Some conspirators, who were plotting against the emperor under the leadership of a certain Maternus, cleverly made use of this practice. Dressed up as lance-bearers (*τὸ τῶν δορυφόρων σχῆμα* = *hastiferi*) they mingled with the real lance-bearers (*αἰχμοφόροι*) and in this way tried to penetrate into the presence of Commodus. However, their plans were balked and with the expressions of the utmost gratitude to the Goddess Commodus carried the festivities to a happy conclusion (*τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπετέλει*). The procession, which, according to Herodian, took place on a fixed date (*ὡρισμένης ἡμέρας*), is generally considered as part of the Hilaria.[724]

5. *c.* AD 350 Firmicus Maternus,[725] born and bred in Sicily, gives an Euhemeristic explanation of the Attis and Cybele myth. After all the Phrygians created a religious festive cycle (*annuum sacrorum ordinem*) that returns every year. Cybele is a rich queen in their country; they worship the earth. The mistress loves a young man who rejects her (the words *spretae formae* are Vergilian and refer to Juno). The Goddess takes revenge, and Attis dies. He is buried, and in order to comfort Cybele he is said to have come back to life (*revixisse iactarunt*). But in the following section Firmicus starts to explain[726] the meaning that has been attached to the myth: the identification of Attis with the grain of corn, which is sown every year (*mors*), and then comes back to life (*vita*). 'Why', the apologist wonders with despair and compassion,[727] 'connect the simple sowing and reaping with burial, death, rejection, punishment and love? In order to give thanks for the revival of the corn, you stand there and lament; in order to rejoice, you stand there and whine.' 'I should like to know what use it is to the corn that they start their ululations every year amid wails (*annuis ululatibus*), that they begin to complain of the disaster of a reborn death (*renati funeris*). You stand there and mourn and moan, but under your lamentation you hide another explanation which is not natural.'[728]

6. AD 345 The calendar of Philocalus (see p. 113). The Hilaria are given on 25 March after the *dies sanguinis* and before the *lavatio*.

7. AD 362 In his oration on the Mother of the Gods, composed between 22 and 25 March of the year 362, Julian[729] gives an allegorical explanation of the March festivals. The *dies sanguinis* is immediately followed by the Hilaria. This order is absolutely necessary[730] (*πάντως ἕπεσθαι χρὴ τὰ Ἱλάρια*), because on the *dies sanguinis* worshippers must root out the unlimited in themselves and rise (*ἀνατρέχειν*) to 'the One' (*τὸ Ἕν*) within themselves. The trumpet will give the signal (*σύμβολον*) to the call upwards.

8. AD 362 Between 22 March and 16 June of the same year the friend of the emperor Julian, the philosopher Sallustius,[731] wrote a Neoplatonic treatise on the gods and the world, in which the myth of Attis and Cybele is explained allegorically. The Hilaria follow upon the emasculation (*dies sanguinis*) and the fasting. The faithful are given milk as the symbol of rebirth (*ἀναγεννωμένων*) only then to be followed by the Hilaria and the wreaths (*στέφανοι*) as symbols of a re-ascension (*ἐπάνοδος*).

9. AD 363 Ammianus Marcellinus[732] mentions that on 27 March 363, during his campaign against the Persians, the emperor Julian performed the ceremony of the *lavatio* at Callinicum on the Euphrates. The solemnities were observed after the Roman tradition, whereupon Julian retired to pass the night 'in peaceful sleep, happy and full of confidence'.[733] Lambrechts interprets the word *laetus* (cf. Valerius Flaccus, above, p. 120) as an allusion to the joy of the emperor as a result of the cleansing ceremony. The next day the emperor marches on.

10. AD 430[734] Macrobius[735] places Attis in the sphere of the Sun gods; in this connection his attributes, the pipe and the shepherd's crook, must be accounted for, as well as the Hilaria. On 25 March the beginning of joy (*laetitiae exordium*) is celebrated; then, for the first time, the day is again longer than the night.

11. *c.* AD 500[736] Dionysius the 'Areopagite'[737] calls the Hilaria a feast in honour of the Mother of the Gods.

12. *c.* AD 525[738] Damascius[739] describes, in the biography of his Neoplatonic master, Isidorus, how they both descended into the sanctuary of Pluto (= Hades) at Hierapolis in Phrygia. When they had safely emerged from the subterranean vaults Damascius dreamed that he was Attis and that the feast of the Hilaria was performed by Cybele. And this, according to the writer, means that they had experienced salvation from Hades.

The texts quoted above, some of which are not fully used, form part of Lambrechts' attempt[740] to prove that the feast of the Hilaria was instituted only in the course of the third century, that the Hilaria did not take place before, but after the day of the *lavatio*, and finally that the rejoicings do not concern Attis, but the Mother of the Gods. And she would be happy, not on account of a possible resurrection of her consort Attis, but because she has been cleansed by her bath. Her statue needed a ritual ablution after a period that was characterized by sorrow and mourning; moreover the image of the Goddess had been defiled by the blood of the emasculated galli.[741]

This theory does not sound very convincing, not so much on account of the proposed interpretation of the meaning of the *lavatio*, but because of the conclusions about the actual events of the Hilaria. For what is the position? Which texts inform

us that the *lavatio* preceded the Hilaria or fail to mention the Hilaria altogether? To begin with Suetonius (text 1), from whose account one might conclude that the *lavatio* preceded the Hilaria. This conclusion is entirely redundant and the text can be explained quite normally (see p. 119 f.). Then there is Valerius Flaccus (text 2). Although the poet conjures up blissful feelings after the cleansing bath for both Medea and Cybele, we should not forget the context in the poem. Medea is about to marry her hero Jason, but first she has to be cleansed of the misdeed perpetrated against her father, not to mention the fact that any marriage is preceded by a bath, as is proved by the painting of the Aldobrandini wedding.[742] Of Cybele it is not said that she is eagerly awaiting her beloved; we only read that after the ablution of the mourning lamentation her statue is carried through the town, cheerfully escorted by torches. There is no reason at all why this should remind us of the Hilaria: it is merely the procession joyfully returning from the Almo, where the Goddess has been bathed, to the temple. After this *lavatio* the mourning is definitely over and done with, as far as Cybele is concerned, which is confirmed by Arrian (text 3). Admittedly he does not mention the Hilaria, but then he also dismisses the other festivals with the mere words: 'Phrygian mourning'. Finally, Herodian's text (no. 4) concerning the abortive attempt on Commodus' life does not make it clear whether the procession relates to the Hilaria or to the *lavatio*.[743] Moreover, the problem is here hardly relevant. It is obvious that there is not even one text that convincingly demonstrates that the Hilaria took place after the *lavatio*.[744] On the contrary, all the other texts imply rather the opposite, and that the Hilaria follow the Day of Blood, and even follow it logically: the *lavatio* concludes the festival. Of course, we must take into account that all the relevant texts date from the fourth century, or even later, and – with only one exception (text 5) – issued from the pens of Neoplatonists.

What do the texts tell us about the date of the official recognition of the Hilaria? We have just seen that Arrian's text (no. 3) does not mention them at all. This may give us some clue; all the other information is of much later date. We have to conclude that, according to the texts, to which presently the archaeological data will be added, the Hilaria were unknown until the fourth century.

The inscriptions of the reed-bearers at Ostia have suggested to Duncan Fishwick[745] the following schedule of the March festivals:

	Claudius	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius (or later)
15 March		*Canna intrat* (*cannophori*)	
22 March	*Arbor intrat* (*dendrophori*)		
24 March	*Sanguis* (*galli*)		
25 March			Hilaria
26 March			*requietio*
27 March	*Lavatio* (? *hastiferi*)		

This list shows that these feasts could find official acceptance in Rome only gradually and over a long period of development. Attis' penetration from the precincts of the temple of Cybele on the Palatine Hill into the city, and later throughout the entire State, took place in several stages; this was gradually followed by complete recognition, and as a result of the discretion of prudent emperors the memorial days of Attis were declared official festivals. It is the great merit of the Ghent school under the leadership of Lambrechts that they have shown this steady evolution of the Phrygian cult in Rome. But Fishwick has added some nuances and in addition the archaeological finds have demonstrated that greater importance should be given to Attis' place in the Palatine temple. For without this original importance accorded to him in the main sanctuary his later importance is hardly conceivable.

Until the middle of the fourth century the texts reveal little more than that the Hilaria marked a joyful feast, to which Dionysius the 'Areopagite' (text 11) in the sixth century adds 'in honour of the Mother of the Gods'. Then under the influence of the revival of Julian and the Neoplatonists the matter suddenly becomes very topical again. The texts, including that of the antagonist Firmicus Maternus (text 5), unanimously point to the conception of a resurrection. This conception can be seen in the material world as the ever-recurring germination of the grain of corn, which stands for Attis (Firm. Mat.), or as the return of the sunlight (Macrobius, text 10), or as the ascension of the soul to its place of origin (texts 7, 8 cf. 12). The sources quoted here show a clear difference of interpretation. Firmicus Maternus wages his war against the simple believers who worship Attis; the philosophers record their learned speculations on Attis for an intellectual upper stratum. In consequence Firmicus gives a better picture of the thoughts of the common people about Attis. The question, therefore, is whether earlier times can already supply information regarding Attis as a god of the grain of corn rising from the dead, and if there are even earlier indications of the Hilaria.

Representations of a dancing Attis[746] are known from the Hellenistic period. Sometimes he is also winged, and this representation remained especially popular into Roman times.[747] However, no dancing Attis occurs among the terracottas from the Republican temple. The emperor Julian[748] explains the dancing of this wonderful (τῷ παγκάλῳ) shepherd symbolically, but his dance precedes the ascension of his soul. The artistic depiction of the dancing Attis may allude to the happy, exuberant mood during his carefree youth, or after his sorrow.[749] But this cannot be proved with certainty. Yet such an interpretation of the *Attis hilaris* is strongly suggested by the representation (pl. 40) of the winged Attis,[750] who takes Ganymede to heaven, in the underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore (see p. 55 ff.). Here Attis is a symbol of the ascension to Olympus and, if the Basilica is really a sepulchral monument, of the soul rising to the Kingdom of Heaven. Consequently it must seem clear that both from the texts and from the archaeological monuments no more than a hypothesis can be advanced about the Hilaria, and that this hypothesis tends towards a resurrection conception.

March 26 is a day of rest (*requietio*), followed by the ablution (*lavatio*) on the 27th.[751] On this day the Goddess herself again became the centre of interest. Her silver

statue containing the black meteorite was taken down from the Palatine Hill to the Porta Capena in a carrier's wagon (*plaustrum*), a covered wagon (*carpentum*), or a sedan-chair (*lectica*).[752] She followed the Via Appia (see p. 57 f.) to the little Almo river, where undoubtedly a small sanctuary for the Goddess existed. There the statue and many other cult-objects were bathed and cleansed. The college of the *quindecimviri* begged the Goddess to return safely to Rome. This return trip was a gay affair; flowers, song and dance accompanied the mighty Goddess, in honour of whom later, after an eight-day rest, the April festivities were celebrated. It is not impossible that in the meantime the *Initium Caiani* took place in the sanctuary of the Vatican (see p. 45 ff.), but about this we possess no further information.

The Megalensia in Rome

According to Livy[753] 4 April was fixed as the official anniversary of Cybele's state entry at the same time that the order was given for the construction of her temple on the Palatine. The feasts were called Megalesia or Megalensia[754] from her title of Magna Mater (Μήτηρ μεγάλη).

A second commemoration fell on 10 April,[755] her 'birthday' (*dies natalis*); however, this means the day of the dedication of her temple on the Palatine (*quod eo die aedes ei dedicata est*). The feasts that were held on these two days and during the period in between were national.[756] They were organized by the nobles,[757] this in contrast with the feasts in honour of Ceres, which followed on afterwards, and belonged to the *plebs*.[758] The feasts consisted of sacrifices, banquets, games and plays in circus and theatre, and a procession, all under the supervision of secular magistrates (*aediles curules*). On the first day the solemn procession (*pompa*) was held,[759] in which the statue of the Goddess was carried through the city on a sedan-chair.[760] On this occasion the galli were permitted to collect money.[761] And which of the onlookers would not willingly spare a small bronze coin, Ovid asks himself. We are given a good idea of this spectacle by the painting in the Via dell'Abbondanza at Pompeii,[762] where the participants of the procession are portrayed next to Cybele's chair (pl. 46). The heavy burden of the statue, that weighs on the shoulders of the carriers (*molles ministri*), in this case galli or *seminares*, is vividly illustrated on an altar from Rome, now housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.[763] The horn-blowers in the procession, which took the Goddess to the Circus, are depicted on a relief[764] in the portal of the S. Lorenzo Basilica.

On the two main feast-days one of the magistrates sacrificed a heifer (*iuvenca*).[765] Besides – according to Ovid[766] – the aristocratic families brought to the Goddess dishes of *moretum*, a mixture of white cheese and spices. These were put ready on tables (*mensae sacrae*) for the common meal (*lectisternium*), at which a special accubation couch (*pulvinar*) had been reserved for the Goddess herself. During this festive week the aristocracy also met several times in their capacity as members (*sodales*) of various fraternities, and had banquets together (*mutatio, cena*) to which they invited each other in turn.[767] About the *moretum* something more should be said. According

to the poem of this name, ascribed to Vergil,[768] the mixture consisted of cheese and strong-smelling herbs such as garlic, celery, rue (*ruta*) and coriander, ground in a mortar with the addition of oil and vinegar. From an inscription A. Brelich[769] has inferred that the aristocrats wanted to honour the Phrygian Goddess with this *moretum*, since by her gift of the herbs she had kept primitive man alive. Cybele is therefore older than Ceres, who gave the corn and was worshipped especially by the *plebs*; her feast was that of a younger goddess, submissive to the power of the Mother of the Gods, Cybele. Consequently the Megalensia of the aristocrats preceded the Cerealia. Moreover the offer of the *moretum* is a typical characteristic, namely nostalgia for the early days of mankind. But the inevitable consequence is that Cybele also became the giver of the corn (*frumentum* cf. *fruges*; *Phryges*) and was compared and identified with Ceres.[770] In this connection it should be remembered that on coins from Phrygia ears of corn are depicted next to the Goddess;[771] a beautiful silver saucepan (*casserole*) from Nijmegen[772] bears on its handle a representation of Cybele with ears of corn; a fine relief from Mannheim[773] shows the Goddess with a sheaf of corn in her right hand.

The *ludi Megale(n)ses* (*ludi Megalesiaci*)[774] were very pure and sacred (*maxime casti, religiosi*) games according to Cicero,[775] held in order to propitiate the Goddess. These games, which took place at State expense or sometimes were financed by the richest citizens (*optimi viri*), originally consisted of circus games (see Chap. 5), but quite soon theatrical performances were added.[776] In 191 BC 'Sly-boots' (*Pseudolus*) of Plautus (*d.* 184 BC) was presumably performed in a theatre in front of the temple. Various plays of Terence (*c.* 190–159) had their first nights here: 'The Girl from Andros' (*Andria*) in 166, 'The Mother-in-Law' (*Hecyra*) in 165, 'The Self-tormentor' (*Heautontimoroumenos*) in 163; *Eunuchus* and *Phormio* were on the programme respectively in 161 and 141.[777] Zealous Christian writers refer time and again to the scandalous mimes and dances that expressed the love between Attis and Cybele.[778] Of the theatre on the Palatine little more is known than its situation near the *Scalae Caci* (Steps of Cacus). The statue of the Goddess was probably placed in the portal of the temple, as – according to Cicero – the Megalensia took place 'before the very countenance of the Great Goddess' (*ante templum in ipso Matris Magnae conspectu*).

The aristocracy retained its important part throughout the April festivities; the *ludi* were open only to free Romans, so that foreigners and slaves were excluded.[779] This explains the enormity of the scandal when in 56 BC Clodius forced his way into the theatre during a performance with a band of slaves[780] and wholesale carnage was prevented only with the greatest difficulty. Cicero[781] sums up this outrage as a defilement and desecration of the games and the city by Clodius.

6
Cybele in the Provinces of the Roman Empire

Cybele in Egypt

In his standard work about Alexandria P. M. Fraser[782] divides the various cults into four groups: the Greek religion – the indigenous deities – the Dynastic, or cult of the rulers – and the extraneous deities. Such a medley of different groups occurs in every metropolis, and in this respect the situation in Alexandria reflects to a certain extent that of Rome. However, there is one great difference: during the time of the Diadochi, the successors of Alexander the Great, and therefore under the personal influence of Ptolemy and his descendants, the Divine Pair, Isis and Serapis, were made the supreme deities of the multifarious pantheon,[783] whereas in Rome and throughout the Empire[784] these two invariably belonged to the group of alien, oriental gods, and as such they were always regarded with suspicion, and occasionally even persecuted.

In the Hellenistic era the Cybele cult remained a foreign religion from Anatolia for the Egyptians, while from the beginning of the Roman domination of Egypt under the emperor Augustus, who regarded Cybele as the national Goddess, she had enjoyed the emperor's protection. In Egypt the cult of the Magna Mater was never widespread, since the veneration of Isis and the child Horus was too nationally rooted for any competition of Cybele and Attis to be successful. But according to some ancient writers the two goddesses were, in fact, not rivals. In essence they have the same divine power, and under different names they both represent the eternal feminine principle. Abroad, where they were both, though in varying circumstances, accepted as alien deities, they are sometimes found close together, for instance at Eretria[785] where Cybele had found accommodation in a temple of Isis. In Italy, at Malcesine,[786] we meet Isis and Cybele under the same roof. The rich iconography of Horus = Harpocrates sometimes exerted a distinct influence on Attis when represented as a child (*puer*). For that matter, neither the Alexandrian poets, nor later their Roman colleagues, who were, in this respect, their imitators, ever refrained from elaborating the Attis-theme exhaustively[787] and derisively, especially stressing the gallus, whom they liked to represent as androgynous.[788] In this strain Dioscorides,[789] who apparently lived towards the end of the third century BC, wrote a poem on Attis. On his way from Pessinus to Sardis the chaste eunuch of Cybele (ἀγνὸς Ἄτυς Κυβέλης θαλαμηπόλος) ends up in a cave where he finds himself cornered by a lion. But the animal takes to its heels faster than a deer when Atys(!) takes up a tambourine. As token of his

gratitude he dedicates the cave (*θαλάμην*) and the 'tympan' (*λαλάγημα*) to the Goddess. This tale must have met with wide approval, because Varro[790] relates a similar story of the galli, who with their 'tympans' made the lion so tame that they could stroke him; hence the statue of a lion near Mount Ida, where the event took place.

When making a closer examination of the spread of the Phrygian Goddess in Egypt it should be borne in mind that the number of documents is small in relation to the relevant seven centuries (300 BC – AD 400). Two dedications of Canopus[791] from the third and second centuries BC are well known: here the Mother of the Gods is invoked as Saviour (*σωτείρα*) and as the Granting One (*ἐπηκόος*). She shares the latter epithet with several other deities.[792] She is also called 'accessible to prayer' (*εὐάντητος*). The two inscriptions may come from a Shrine of the Goddess. Other dedications,[793] from Memphis or from Al Fayyum, mention a temple and temple grounds, furnished for Agdistis = Cybele by a priest called Moschos. Finally a papyrus[794] from the beginning of the second century BC mentions a Metroon at Philadelphia, the surrounding grounds of which were used as an inn. Influenced by Alexandrian art traditions most Egyptian sculpture of Cybele and Attis is of excellent quality. The Cairo Museum possesses a wonderful relief in plaster-work,[795] which is also important on account of its religious setting (pl. 71). In a temple with Ionic columns and a pediment with *acroteria* Cybele is seated on a high throne. In her right hand she has a libation bowl and a tambourine, decorated with a large radiant star. On her right side sits a lion, guarding her, and another lion forms her footstool. Hermes and Hecate are standing beside her. Hermes wears only a cape and a wide travelling-cap; in his hands he holds a decanter and a staff. Hecate, goddess of the cross-roads and of the Underworld, is recognizable by two burning torches, but on the other hand she is also Artemis, carrying bow and arrow slung across her back. This trio, here figuring on a Roman relief that was inspired by a Hellenistic original of the fourth century BC, is found practically everywhere on the monuments in Asia Minor, although they do occur in other places as well.[796] On either side of Cybele's head a ram's head and a bull's head are attached to the wall; next to the head of Hermes-Mercury there are two rams' heads. Another bull's head is visible in the middle of the pediment, flanked by a lion and a lioness. A leaping lion has been depicted over the palmettes that decorate the corners of the pediment. At the top one sees the head of Helios-Sol, surrounded by a *nimbus*, towards which on either side helmeted kouretes come running, armed with shields and lances. The lower moulding of the relief shows the twelve Olympian gods, for Cybele is the Mother of the Gods, and as such she figures at Athens, at Thasos, at Lebadea and at Ostia either on a twelve-god altar (*dodekatheon*) or on a relief.[797]

The light in which Attis in Egypt is seen both in the literature and the sculpture of Alexandria is very striking. The smiths (*toreutai*) of the capital on the Nile have left us some beautiful metalwork statuettes, such as the gracefully dancing winged Attis[798] at Paris, or the slightly grotesque Attis with a hat-like bonnet in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.[799] A find at Galyub[800] in the southern Delta indicates how much the Egyptian smiths of the Ptolemaic era enjoyed depicting Cybele and Attis, for there the Hellenistic bronze lion-riding Attis statue was found, which served as a

model for the marble equivalent in the Ostia sanctuary.[801] Presumably also from the Delta is a small Hellenistic mixing bowl (*crater*)[802] in bronze, which was added to the rich collection of the Alexandria Museum *c.* 1900 by A. Adriani. Its base has been lost; in the middle the cup has a fold, which thus divides it, as it were, into two parts. Its surface is decorated with finely chased reliefs, and sub-divided by (pine?-)trees into various yet interrelated scenes. According to Ch. Picard this relation is to be found in the story of Attis meeting the daughter of the river Sangarios. This nymph, Sangaritis, makes him commit an act of infidelity towards Cybele, and in his despair he resorts to emasculation. The Goddess herself, with tambourine, is seen striding through the skies, beholding this earthly tragedy. This, then, would be the first detailed representation of this legend, the artist having been inspired by literature. For the time being Picard's interpretation remains an attractive hypothesis, but leaves too many problems unsolved.

Cybele in North Africa

The east part (Libya) of the north coast of Africa was the domain of Greek colonists, and even during the later Roman rule Greek influence cannot be ignored. Like Pergamum the kingdom of Cyrene[803] passed under Roman control voluntarily, i.e. by will and testament (74 B C); later Augustus combined Cyrenaica and Crete into one province.[804] This explains why here, too, the Cybele reliefs display a Greek character. Furthermore it appears that the Asiatic Goddess had joined her Egyptian sister, Isis, who at Cyrene was worshipped in a sanctuary on the Acropolis.[805] But for the rest the Goddess has left few traces in Cyrenaica.

The situation is different on the west part of the North African coast with its three provinces, Proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania, each of which was strongly influenced by the Punic religion[806] as a result of the prolonged hegemony of Carthage.[807] Of this phenomenon there are two excellent examples. In the museum at Sousse there are two niches side by side, containing statues that presumably derive from Carthage. Here Baal-Saturn[808] is enthroned by the side of his wife, Astarte, who, because of her escort of animals, is identified with Cybele (pl. 72). On a series of African lamps Cybele is depicted riding a lion, though the sceptre or mirror in her right hand reminds us of Astarte-Venus.[809] Moreover the Goddess in West Africa is identified with Juno Caelestis,[810] and her cult is to be found as far away as England, where a fine poem in her honour was recorded in stone.[811]

Carthage (Tunis) itself had a Metroon on the eastern slope of the Byrsa Hill.[812] This sanctuary has not yet been identified, but it is known to be situated near the temple of Asclepius, and to have been founded during the reign of the African emperor Septimius Severus. It was even restored as late as the fourth century. The close relationship with Asclepius is expressed on an altar,[813] of Carrara marble, which is inscribed on either side: 'to Asclepius from Epidaurus' (*Aesculapio ab Epidauro*), but the front bears an inscription of Caius Frontinus Doryphorus, priest of the Mother of the Gods, the Great One from Mount Ida, and of Attis. The altar dates from the time of Antoninus

Pius, and if it really belongs to the Cybele sanctuary the foundation of the temple must have been earlier than was originally assumed. The owner of a fourth-century Roman villa, situated on the northern slope of the so-called Juno-hill, was obsessed by race-horses, as is evident from the mosaic floors.[814] All sorts of mythological figures are represented indiscriminately with horses, not only the Dioscuri but even the god of time (Aion) and Attis. Thus the artist had found himself forced by his employer to turn Attis into a heroic charioteer. Another nostalgic votary of the races had the Circus Maximus depicted on the floor of his villa,[815] showing the races at the moment when the charioteers negotiate the far end of the *spina*, which is decorated with a Cybele statue.

Utica, north-west of Tunis, is also said to have had its Cybele temple, and a recently found extensive *criobolium*-inscription[816] mentions a priest, a priestess, initiates (*sacrati*) and *dendrophori*. Further inland Sicca Veneria (El Kef) has a sepulchral inscription of Quintus Valerius Severus Platiensis, dutiful (*pius*) priest of the Magna Mater, who died there at the age of fifty-five.[817] Mactar, on the contrary, possesses a number of *taurobolium* altars,[818] which argues the existence of a temple, and another unique altar[819] erected in honour of Cybele and Ianus, who is here given the title of august father (*pater augustus*).

Further east in Tripolitania Lepcis Magna is the only place where Cybele and Attis were venerated. The deities – here Attis is also called god (*deus*)[820] – had a temple of their own in the old Forum, not far from the temple of Liber Pater. The inscription on the front of the temple[821] records its inauguration (*dedicatio*) during the reign of Vespasian (AD 72) by the proconsul. A considerable sum for the equipment of the building had been donated by an important African, Iddibal, son of Balsillec. According to two other inscriptions,[822] probably from the fourth century AD, T. Flavius Vibianus was especially honoured and statues were erected to him, his priesthood of the Mother of the Gods being among his many important offices.

West of Proconsularis lay Numidia.[823] At Announa (Thibilis) two *taurobolium* inscriptions were found[824] on altars which must certainly have belonged to a temple of Cybele; she is compared with the Earth Mother Aerecura (*Terrae Matri Aerecurae Matri deum magnae Ideae*). Consequently she is also Goddess of the Underworld, for Aerecura is the wife of Dis Pater or Hades.[825]

In Philippeville (Rusicade), on the coast, the tree-bearer Gaius Metteius Exuperans dedicated[826] a base with a statue to the holy Attis (*sancto Attidi*), who is here also the patron of the tree-bearers (*genio dendrofororum*). This evidently makes the presence of a temple with a pine-wood at Rusicade highly probable, and it may safely be assumed that the March festivals were celebrated here as well as in Carthage. In Constantine (Cirta) Jupiter, the gods and goddesses (*dis deabusque*), the Mother of the Gods of Mount Ida and Apollo are all enumerated in one and the same breath in order to demonstrate the amount of help that was needed by the dedicator Marcus Cocceius.[827] Djemila (Cuicul) yields a beautiful altar,[828] found in a colonnade (*porticus*) on the south side of the Forum near the temple of Venus Genetrix and dedicated by Caecilius Paulinus, who was head (*magister*) of the *dendrophori* and special priest of the year (*flamen annuus*), probably of the emperor cult. Over the text is a representation of

Cybele enthroned, but without the lions. On the left is the fir-cone, an allusion to Attis, whereas the right side is decorated with a *tympanum* or a cymbal, and a horn. Sigus[829] also had a Cybele priest, who died there at the age of fifty-five. At Timgad (Thamugadi) a Cybele statue was discovered among the ruins of a private house;[830] a smaller Attis statue was unearthed near the theatre.[831] Lambaesis[832] and Mascula[833] are the southernmost points of Numidia that have supplied information about the cult.

In Mauretania[834] a distant ruin outside Setif (Sitifis) has supplied a surprising fragmentary inscription which dates from AD 288.[835] After a fire, the faithful (*religiosi*) and the tree-bearers had restored the temple, and on that occasion they had a silver statue (*simulacrum deae argenteum*) made of Cybele and a new one of Attis. Attis and Cybele (Attis is here mentioned first) are here addressed as 'almighty holy gods' (*deorum omnipotentium sanctorum*). The colonnade (*porticus*) was also restored with a worthy painting (*praesentato dignitate picturae*). The proceeds of the collection (*stipe collata*) had evidently exceeded expectations and the opportunity was seized to have the float (*carpentum*) that carried Cybele's statue at processions overhauled. This cart was housed at the Thermae (*ad Thermas depositum*); it was now taken out and provided with a canopy, adorned with woollen cords and fir-cone-shaped tassels (*capistellis et strobilis vellereis exornatum*). Thus the entire community was adorning the temple; the women, too, must have been proud on the feast-day of their Goddess!

Tifesch (Tipasa) has another *taurobolium* altar,[836] whereas further west, in the community of Cherchel (Caesarea), the *dendrophori* had an inscription of honour drawn up in honour of a member of the town-council (*decurio splendidissimae coloniae Caesariensis*), the very reverend (*religioso dignissimo*) priest of the most holy Goddess, Mother of the Gods (*antistiti sanctissimi numinis Matris deum*).[837] From the same town a statue of the Goddess herself has been preserved as well as one of a gallus standing in full ceremonial dress beside an altar.[838] In the extreme west of Morocco the town of Banasa had a Cybele temple[839] built under the reign of Antoninus Pius (*a solo faciendum curaverunt*). From Banasa we also have a beautiful winged Attis in bronze, swinging his hips as he dances with raised arms.[840] Another bronze Attis,[841] this time seated on a rock as ram-bearer (*criophorus*), was excavated in a house at Volubilis, further south.

The ruins of North Africa will certainly add many more documents to this collection. Moreover, there still exists much unpublished material, details of which have often gone astray or the photographs of which are not available for publication. There is, for instance, the publication by Gilbert Ch. Picard[842] of an interesting Carthaginian mosaic, in which some girls are coming to make their offerings to Attis, whose statue has been erected in a small private chapel. This representation is unique, but further details concerning this piece have not been published as yet.

Cybele in Spain

Under the Roman Empire Spain was divided into three provinces: Baetica in the south; Lusitania, which also covered Portugal, in the west, and thirdly the vast territory of Tarraconensis in the east. In earlier Greek times the south coast in par-

ticular, where there were strong Greek and Punic settlements, enjoyed brisk overseas trade. In his book on oriental cults García y Bellido[843] observed that in Spain the nature and the distribution of the Cybele cult were different from what might be expected. First of all, Baetica provides only scanty information, whereas the greater part of the monuments are found in the interior. Furthermore the places where evidence of a Cybele worship was found curiously do not coincide with those of the Attis cult. Lusitania, too, has quite a number of monuments, which may be explained by the original local worship of the goddess Ataecina. According to a lost inscription[844] a temple of Cybele and Attis existed on the Balearic Islands. In the south, at Córdoba, inscriptions on three marble altars[845] have revealed some interesting details. In AD 234 Publicius Fortunatus Thalamas performed a *taurobolium* (see p. 101 ff.) while a certain Coelia Ianuaria underwent the *criobolium*. The two ceremonies are clearly separated. Four years later, on 24 March, the *dies sanguinis*,[846] this same Thalamas repeated a *taurobolium*, though this time he is called by his full name, Publicius Valerius Fortunatus Thalamas. This name suggests Greek descent, whereas his wife, Porcia Bassiana, who at the same time underwent a *criobolium*, could be of Syrian origin. The priests (*sacerdotes*) mentioned, Ulpius Heliades and Aurelius Stephanus, both bear Greek names. For that matter, it is remarkable that most inscriptions in Spain commemorate a *taurobolium*. At Merida[847] a lady, Valeria Avita, underwent a *taurobolium* on the occasion of her birthday (or cult-anniversary?), the administering archigallus (see p. 96 ff.) being Publicius Mysticus, and to commemorate this event she had an altar erected. At Pax Julia (Beja)[848] a father and son, both slaves, donated a *criobolium* altar; the two priests are members of the Antistius family. Although in Barcelona and Gerona[849] rich villa owners had representations of the Goddess in their houses, this does not imply that she was also worshipped there. For as they were great lovers of the Circus they insisted on having a mosaic representation of it; and since the Circus needs a *spina* (see p. 51 ff.), and the *spina* has a lion-riding Cybele statue, this was merely faithfully copied.

In these parts Attis was mainly known as a sepulchral figure. A famous example of this aspect is the large monument near Tarragona,[850] the so-called Torre de los Escipiones (the Tower of the Scipiones), on which he stands depicted twice as large as life. In Imperial times the cult of Attis spread in the wake of Cybele.

Cybele in Gaul

It may safely be said that wherever the Celts (Galatia and Gallia have the common root *Gal* = *Cel*) were under the Roman rule (Danubian area, northern Italy) they adopted the Cybele worship. In early times this was – in Asia Minor as well as in Gaul – largely due to the Greeks, and only at a later date to the Romans themselves, for whom Cybele was a national Goddess. All this is incontestably borne out by the extensive archaeological documentation concerning the Cybele cult in France, which has been considerably supplemented over the last few decades.[851] Moreover there is some literary evidence, which will be discussed in dealing with Lyons. As a result of

this historical background the most diverging Cybele and Attis monuments are widespread, covering the period from 600 BC to AD 400, and this prolonged worship of a thousand years is – in its turn – the result of the geographical situation of France. For it was *c.* 600 BC that Greeks from the town of Phocaea[852] on the west coast of Asia Minor in Ionia founded the town of Marseilles (Massilia),[853] and brought the Goddess with them. In the Musée Borély some fifty small monuments are housed,[854] most of them depicting a Goddess seated in a *naiskos*. They had been found in the former Rue Négrel of old Marseilles, and should be dated to the sixth century BC. These *naiskoi* represent a Goddess in severe hieratic posture – at Marseilles mostly without lions at her side or on her lap – and bear a strong stylistic resemblance to some contemporary monuments, found at Cyme[855] near Phocaea. But at Cyme she invariably has a lion on her lap, and is thus characterized as Cybele. This rather upsets Langlotz's[856] and Turcan's[857] interpretation of it as an early representation of the Artemis Ephesia,[858] which the Phocaeans are supposed to have brought with them. A comparison of the exceptional Marseilles *naiskos*, in which Cybele holds a lion on her lap,[859] with the pieces from Cyme shows that it might just as well have come straight from Asia Minor. And indeed, Ch. Picard[860] has argued convincingly that one of the reliefs[861] represents a sixth-century Attis! He is standing in a temple with his hands raised, and is clearly recognizable by his Phrygian cap with the long ear-flaps and by the short tunic that leaves his genitals visible.

Some believe that since Marseilles had a great radiating influence, the cult must have spread north along the Rhône in early times.[862] Yet this theory has never been confirmed by any finds; according to Turcan there is in the Rhône Valley no single datable monument earlier than the latter part of the second century AD. Another striking feature is that in the various provinces of Gaul more *taurobolium* records are found than anywhere else in the Roman Empire. This is immediately noticeable in Narbonne (Narbo) in the Midi, west of Marseilles, where at least six inscriptions have been discovered, one of which[863] reports that the inhabitants celebrated a public *taurobolium*, paid for with the money raised by a collection. It is remarkable that here in Narbonne the representations of Attis are much in evidence.[864] On the way to Bordeaux (Burdigala) one finds at Lectoure (Lactora) in the museum a series of no less than twenty-one *taurobolium* altars.[865] Most of them are of a simple kind (pl. 69) with a hollow (*focus*) in the top in which gifts, such as fruit, could be deposited;[866] the inscription has been chiselled into the front, and the sides are sometimes decorated with a bull's head, a ram's head and a libation bowl with a boss (*umbilicus*). Robert Etienne has studied these altars and tried to explain them. One inscription[867] records that on 24 March AD 239, Valeria Gemina received the *vires* of Eutyches (*escepit* in faulty Latin!). The ceremony took place on the Day of Blood, probably as an initiation rite for Eutyches into the order of the galli[868] by means of his emasculation. This proves at the same time that the liturgical calendar was adhered to throughout the Empire,[869] in imitation of Rome. Greater problems were caused by a series of nine altars, which are all dated 8 December of the year AD 241, whereas three other altars commemorate 8 October AD 173. For the time being Etienne has provisionally linked these two dates to the official festivities of Saturn and Jupiter, which reveals another aspect of the cult,

viz. its relation with the State cult, not unlike the synchronization of religious and national feasts in our days.

An interesting relief at Bordeaux[870] is also connected with these feasts. On it four men are seen dragging a tree by a rope (pl. 73); two more fallen trees are waiting for transport. The four men are possibly *dendrophori*, as their college often – though not always – had connections with Cybele and the March festivities.[871] Bordeaux, as capital of the province of Aquitania, should have *taurobolium* inscriptions.[872] One of them[873] is elaborately decorated with the heads of a bull and a ram, a Phrygian cap and a dagger with a barb (*harpè*). In the inscription[874] Valeria Jullina and Julia Sancta commemorate their *natalicium* (birthday) by means of the *vires* of the bull, thus by a *taurobolium*. Of course, birthday here stands for their ritual anniversary. Of no less interest is the altar[875] from Périgueux (Vesunna), further into the interior, east of Bordeaux in the Dordogne. On this altar the connection between Attis and the *taurobolium* stands out clearly, for on the right side (pl. 70) there is – on a rectangular base – a shrine covered with a cloth, on or from which rises the bust of an Attis statue with a pine-tree beyond it. Scourges (*flagella*) and a fir-cone are hanging in the tree. It is Ch. Picard's opinion that the tree emerges from the head of the Attis-figure, and therefore he suggests an identification of Attis with the tree. A recumbent bull partially appears from behind Attis; in the field moreover one distinguishes a Phrygian cap and a shepherd's pipe. The left side shows a relief of a bull's head with two hanging ribbons (*infulae*), which suggests that the bull is about to be sacrificed; furthermore there are a cloth with a hooked sword (*ensis hamatus*), a decanter and a pan (*trulla*). A ram's head between two pipes (*tibiae*) over a pair of castanets is depicted on the back. The inscription[876] on the front informs us that the altar was dedicated by L. Pomponius, son of the priest Sextius Pomponius Paternus (probably a Celt), in honour of the emperor and the Great Mother of the Gods. Pomponius himself is a Roman citizen and registered in the tribe (*tribus*) of Quirina; his dedication is made to the Imperial House on the Palatine.

Next we come to such outlying settlements of Marseilles as Arles (Arelate) and St Rémy de Provence (Glanum).[877] Arles has not much to offer in the field of the Cybele cult:[878] this in contrast to St Rémy which had originally a Celtic sanctuary of the god Glan and the Matres.[879] This is not so much an actual sanctuary as an assembly hall, with columns down the middle (for the erection of a *naiskos*?) and benches along the walls. This spacious hall leads into another smaller one, in which an Attis relief was found[880] (pl. 63), which bears a strong resemblance to a similar piece from Ostia.[881] On a foliage-covered couch Attis lies dying. His right hand covers the mortal injury, the other clutching his shepherd's crook. The shepherd's pipe is depicted as if hanging on a wall. The cypress and the pine-tree are delicately chiselled, evergreen as symbolic of eternal life, in spite of death. In the pine-tree, the symbol of Attis himself, hangs a fir-cone, a frequently recurring sepulchral element. Another find[882] is an altar, erected by the college of tree-bearers (*dendrophori Glanici*). Then there is a remarkable altar[883] erected by Loreia Pia 'for the ears of the Bona Dea'. Vinicia Eutychia dedicated a base,[884] and to her maid-servant (*ministra*), Attis Musa, a marble slab, to the same goddess. [885] Thus in this area the Roman goddess[886] maintained a close relationship

with Cybele, and it has even been suggested that the Bona Dea in St Rémy would in fact be no other than a different form of Cybele herself.[887]

Some twenty years ago it seemed to all appearances as if further up, on the Rhône, at Vienne (Colonia Iulia Vienna Allobrogum an interesting combination of a theatre with an adjoining Cybele sanctuary had come to light.[888] A similar proximity of temple and theatre occurs in Rome at the sanctuary on the Palatine (see p. 41 ff.). The discovery was made in the grounds of the Ancien Hôpital, and indeed revealed a temple-like building, which must have existed there between the second and the fourth century. But later excavations have proved it to be at least doubtful[889] that this 'temple' was dedicated to Cybele, and that the two long walls should be interpreted as an enclosure of the 'mystery-theatre'. It all really started with the finding of a relief[890] near the group of buildings; this was first thought to be a representation relating to the institution of a priesthood for the young (*iuventus*), and it was dated to the first century AD. But once Ch. Picard[891] had convincingly ascribed it to the Cybele cult the adjacent buildings were associated with it as well. The relief[892] shows three persons attending a sacrifice, which is performed by a man with a servant in the presence of a veiled woman. Part of the relief is broken off, but over the place where the small altar had been a Phrygian cap and a shepherd's crook are still visible. So the sacrifice was obviously connected with Attis. Who then is the woman? In either hand she holds an unidentified object. Turcan explains them as a torch and a mirror, and calls her Dea Syria, the Syrian Goddess. Nowadays the relief is also dated to a later period, namely the first half of the second century.

Lyons (Lugdunum) was the capital[893] of the three provinces of Gaul (tres Galliae), and Seneca[894] calls the city their gem. This originally Celtic town was raised to a colony (Colonia Claudia Copia Augusta) by L. Munatius Plancus in 43 BC. It was here that the emperor Claudius was born[895] on the day that his father, Drusus, dedicated the altar of Roma and Augustus. It is well known that Claudius was greatly interested in the Cybele religion, which he tried to direct into proper channels. This may also be the reason why this 'Rome of Gallia' became increasingly important. In Lyons there is a Cybele temple at Fourvière near the theatre and the Odeum. It is generally believed that there was a connection between the temple and the theatre,[896] but at what time the temple was added is still as uncertain as the date of the construction of the building itself. The earliest datable inscription[897] is of AD 160, the time of Antoninus Pius, another great supporter of Cybele. A ram's head on the left corresponds with a bull's head with ribbons within the inscription on the front:

After the *taurobolium* of the Mother of the Gods, the Great One of Mount Ida, which has taken place at the command of the Mother of the Gods for the benefit of the Emperor and Caesar, Father of the Country, Titus Aelius Antoninus Augustus Pius, and of his children, and for the prosperity of Lugdunum, L. Aemilius Carpus, priest of Augustus and also *dendrophorus*, has taken out the testicles [*vires*] and transferred them from the Vaticanum. He has dedicated the altar, together with its decoration of a bull's head [*bucranium*]. The priest then was Q. Sammius Secundus, on whom the *quindecimviri* bestowed the bracelet [*occabus*] and the crown [*corona*] as insignia [of the gallus] and whom the high and holy order of Lyons have invested with priesthood for life. Under the consulship of Appius Annius Bradua and Titus Clodius Vibius Varus the place [of the altar] was fixed according to the decision of the Town Council [*decuriones*].

There is a hooked sword (*ensis hamatus*) on the right side of the altar, and separately the words *cuius mesonyctium factum est V idus Decembres* = 'whose midnight took place on 8 December'. Here again, as at Lectoure,[898] we come across this date of 8 December, so possibly there is a connection with the feast of Saturn. But what does *mesonyctium* signify? The inscription tells us that Carpus had transferred the *vires* from the Vaticanum, and it may safely be assumed that, just as at Mainz-Kastell,[899] there existed at Lyons itself near the Metroon a locality known as Mons Vaticanus.[900] Furthermore the fact is mentioned that the priest Sammius Secundus was inducted into the order of the galli. And only then follows separately *cuius mesonyctium*. To whom does this *cuius* refer back? Since the foregoing *cui* = 'to whom' relates to Sammius Secundus it seems likely that *cuius* = 'whose' should likewise refer to him.[901] The liturgy mentioned here contains the two successive events of induction to gallus and the ensuing 'vigil' or 'midnight'. In any case, in a dream Sammius seems to have had a vision of the Goddess, for at the end of all the ceremonies he erected an altar at the command (*ex imperio*) of the Mother of the Gods herself. However, it is also possible that Sammius actually saw the Goddess in person, as did Lucius[902] in the Isis mysteries. What exactly took place during this *mesonyctium* must, for the moment, remain a mystery. Recently G. Daux[903] discussed an inscription of the Serapis sanctuary at Salonica (Thessalonike) dedicated to Zeus, Dionysus and another deity, who hides mysteriously under the name of Gongulos. It is a decree for the initiates of the cult, who met here during the first century AD, and it states that from the revenue of the donated land a meal of bread (*ἄρτου ἑστίασις*) should be held three times a year in the presence of the educators (*θρέφαντες*). The present initiates, as well as the future ones, will swear by the god, by the mysteries and by the 'midnight of the bread' (*μεσανύκτιον ἄρτου*) that they will watch over the maintenance of the celebration of the above ritual, according to the stipulations of the donation. So in this case a common meal of the initiates takes place by night, at which no other food is eaten but bread. Nor is there any wine, which seems rather strange, seeing that Dionysus is mentioned as the second god, unless it be assumed that, for that night, an intentional abstinence was prescribed.[904] There is no indication that the mysterious Gongulos of Thessalonike might be Attis in disguise, but on the analogy of the Greek expression one may guess that during the *mesonyctium* (a Latinized Greek word) at Lyons the complete *sanctissimus ordo* passed the night together in order to celebrate the meal, and that on that occasion Sammius 'ate from the tambourine and drank from the cymbal and became an initiate of Attis'.

Four more *taurobolium* inscriptions are known from Lyons. One[905] states that the ceremony began on 9 May AD 194, and was concluded on the 11th. Another ceremony[906] lasted from 4 to 7 May AD 197. Both altars are decorated with reliefs of bulls' heads and rams' heads with an *ensis hamatus* beside them. They had originally stood in and near the temple within a triangular *campus* (fig. 31). Such temple grounds in the form of a triangle and situated near the town wall are also known from Ostia (see p. 60 ff.) and Verulanium in Britain. Further the temple itself at Lyons (fig. 32) bears a striking resemblance to the one at Ostia, both having three arched arcades in the two side-walls.[907] Both temples date from the time of Antoninus Pius;

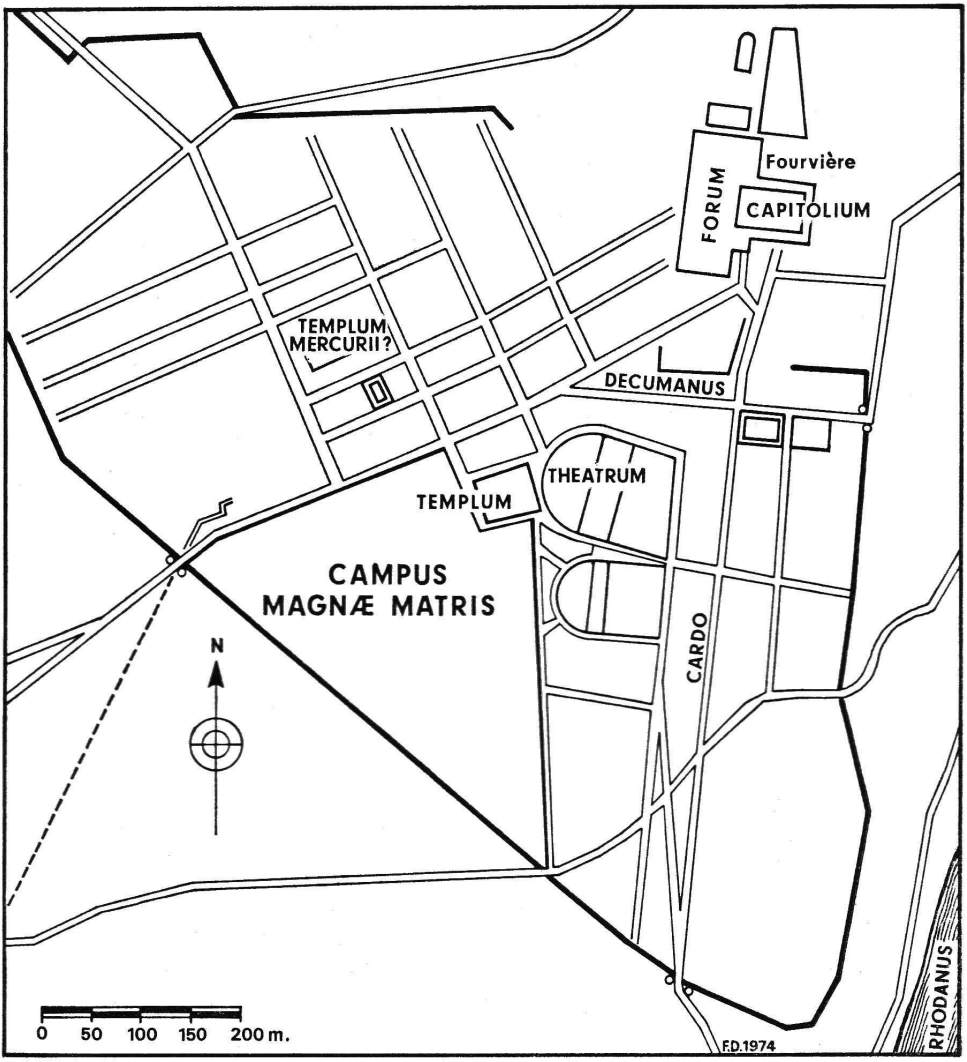


Fig. 31 The situation of the Campus Magnae Matris in Lyons

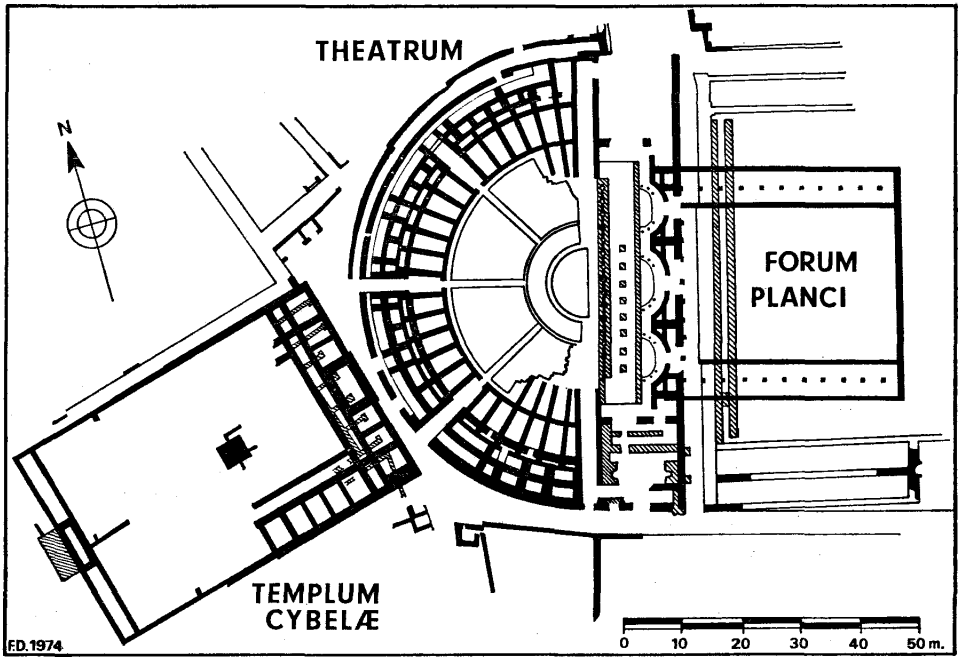


Fig. 32 The situation of the temple of Cybele in Lyons

both were built at a large commercial centre where many orientals were concentrated. So the similarity is by no means accidental and perhaps the origin of the triangular *campus*, too, should be looked for in the East. At Lyons this oriental contingent was composed of a considerable number of Galatians and Phrygians. Amongst them were followers of the Eastern cults, but also a young Christian community. This gave rise to the same tensions as they had known before in their native countries, and finally, in AD 177, things came to a head.[908] An account of the events, recorded by Eusebius,[909] is based on a joint letter of the Christian communities of Lyons and Vienne to their co-religionists in Asia Minor. The controversies resulted in the deaths of the bishop Potheinos, the deacon Sanctus of Vienne, the Phrygian physician Alexander, a certain Attalos from Pergamum, who had acquired Roman citizenship, the newly baptized Maturus and fifteen-year-old Ponticos. Blandina is praised for exceptional courage when she was executed in the arena. Eusebius' report ends on 3 August 177 and as we know that the letter was taken to Asia Minor by Justinus, the priest (*presbyter*) of Lyons, on the day after the outrages, they must have begun a few months before.

Amable Audin,[910] who has conducted the excavations of Lyons for years, has concluded that in the year 177 Easter fell on 31 March, and that consequently Good Friday was on the 29th, the very day on which the passion feasts in honour of Attis

were completed.[911] And so it was – according to Audin – during the passion week of the two religions, that the open clashes between their followers started. Truly a clever hypothesis.

Cybele in Britain

It is one of the great merits of Eve and John Harris that in their book on oriental cults in Great Britain[912] they have definitively struck off the list a great number of finds that had constantly been connected with Cybele and Attis. What now remains is only very scanty material. 'No shrine or precinct of Cybele has as yet been discovered in Britain', is the authors' conclusion; representations of Cybele herself are rare, but Attis occurs frequently, especially in sepulchral monuments. Of this last group a good example was foundi n Bevis Marks, London,[913] now housed in the British Museum. This is a standing figure in oriental attire with a short shepherd's crook or bow in his left hand. A small bronze Attis was dredged from the Thames near London Bridge in 1837, but it seems to have been lost.[914] It was an ithyphallic representation, the attributes being a bunch of grapes and a horn of plenty. At Corbridge (Corstopitum) the upper part of an altar was unearthed, dedicated to the Dea Panthea.[915] This All-Goddess was none other than Cybele, for each side of the altar is decorated with a head of Attis, whereas the back bears a winged head of Hermes. Cybele herself is not depicted, but on lamps and altars the Goddess is often found enthroned between Hermes and Attis.[916]

The most interesting surviving document that is left is probably the poem to Cybele in iambic senarii, found at Carvoran (Magnis) in 1816.[917] Syrian auxiliaries were stationed in the fortress here, which explains the identification of the Mother of the Gods (*mater divum*) with the Dea Syria.

Let us first read the poem, and R. P. Wright's translation of it:

Imminet Leoni Virgo caeles/ti situ
spicifera iusti in/ventrix urbium conditrix/
ex quis muneribus nosse con/tigit deos:
ergo eadem mater divum / Pax Virtus Ceres
dea Syria / lance vitam et iura pensitans.
in caelo visum Syria sidus edi/dit
Libyae colendum: inde / cuncti didicimus./
ita intellexit numine inductus / tuo
Marcus Caecilius Do/natianus militans
tribunus / in praefecto dono principis.

The Virgin in her heavenly place rides upon the Lion; bearer of corn, inventor of law, founder of cities, by whose gifts it is man's good lot to know the gods: therefore she is the Mother of the Gods, Peace, Virtue, Ceres, the Syrian Goddess, weighing life and laws in her balance. Syria has sent the constellation seen in the heavens to Libya to be worshipped: thence have we all learned. Thus has understood, led by thy godhead, Marcus Caecilius Donatianus, serving as tribune in the post of prefect by the Emperor's gift.

The very first line of this poem, which is engraved on a marble plate, alludes to Cybele-Caelestis riding a lion, a representation frequently found in Africa[918] and widely distributed especially by the lamp manufacturers.[919] Equally noteworthy are the coins and medallions of the years AD 203–204 with the legend *Indulgentia Augg. in Carth(agine)*, in which Caelestis symbolizes the town of Carthage.[920] In these years, apparently, three events were commemorated which led to this coinage. First of all it was exactly four hundred years since the Goddess Cybele arrived in Rome. She had protected the city against the dangerous Carthaginian Hannibal; Rome had experienced a new prosperity, which was also to the benefit of the former enemy, Africa, now the country of the emperor Septimius Severus, whose wife was the Syrian Julia Domna. It is the reverse of the coinage with her portrait that bears a lion-riding Cybele-Caelestis, in other words, the empress appears in the shape of the Goddess. Secondly it is the year 204, the centenary celebration of Rome (*ludi saeculares*). The founding of Rome is connected with Troy, and consequently with that region's Goddess, Cybele. Finally, in this same year the fact was probably commemorated when through the benevolence (*indulgentia*) of Septimius Severus the towns of Carthage, Utica and Lepcis Magna acquired the Italic civic rights (*ius Italicum*), and Carthage was presented with a better water supply through the construction of the Zaghouan aqueduct. In this way the mentioning of Caelestis at the very beginning of the poem immediately stresses the importance of the Goddess under the reign of the African Septimius and his Syrian wife. In the Isis hymns, and also in the works of the African novelist Apuleius, the Egyptian goddess embraces all the other goddesses together in her power.[921] Similarly Cybele is here mentioned as the Mother of the Gods, in the same breath as Ceres, Pax, Virtus and the Dea Syria. And Cybele was, like Isis, the inventor of justice (*iusti inventrix*). In this function she weighed life and laws in her scales (*lance vitam et iura pensitans*). But life is impossible without agriculture, hence the word *spicifera*, bearer of the ears of corn, another epithet eminently appropriate for Demeter and Ceres. However, agriculture implies a change-over from a nomadic existence, in whose golden era, according to Ovid,[922] no laws were needed, to permanent habitation. So the granting of corn and fruit (cf. *frux/frugis* with Phrygia!) implies the gift of civilization, the institution of laws, the founding of townships and states. Cybele, Demeter and Isis are all three of them goddesses who are said to have invented agriculture,[923] and as the poem says, man will know the gods by these very gifts.

It has been correctly assumed that the marble plate with the poem had been attached to the base of a statue. The statue itself is lost, but it probably depicted Julia Domna riding a lion. According to the poem this representation originated from Syria, as did Julia herself. And so Marcus Caecilius Donatianus, guided by the Goddess herself, came to understand the entire mystery of the relation between Goddess and empress. But at the same time he renders his thanks to the emperor himself. For the last line indicates that, as a mark of honour, either Septimius Severus or his son Caracalla had bestowed a special privilege on Donatianus in the form of a promotion.

Cybele in Germany

E. Schwertheim's[924] excellent book, which methodically covers all the material regarding Cybele and Attis in Germany, clearly shows the three capitals of Germania Inferior, Superior and Belgica as true centres of worship. These towns are respectively Mainz (Mogontiacum), Cologne (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippiensium) and Trier (Augusta Treverorum). Both Trier and Cologne are better known for their small Cybele terracotta figurines than for larger sculpture. Some of these terracottas, like the fir-cone (symbol of Attis),[925] were evidently intended to be buried with the dead. They were made in two different workshops, as shown by inscriptions on the back. Alfius Manlianus[926] manufactured them towards the end of the first century, Servandus during the latter half of the second century AD. The Servandus version shows the Goddess enthroned between two lions, resting both feet – in token of her authority – on a third, couchant, lion.[927] Another beautiful terracotta[928] of Cybele riding a lion, striding to the left (pl. 74), is of unknown origin. The Goddess rests her left hand on a tambourine, and so this statuette is beyond doubt another reminiscence of the great statue on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus. A similar type, this time in bronze, occurs at Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus) in the land of the Batavians.[929] Of the enthroned type there are many minor variants: at Vechten (Fectio) near Utrecht a small white terracotta was found[930] of the Goddess resting her hand on the head of one of the two lions sitting beside her, but the high base of this statuette suggests a close relation with two fine terracottas from Trier.[931] The Goddess wears a mural crown and holds a pear – or cake – in her right hand, which rests on the head of a lion. Another variation depicts her between two lions, but holding the tambourine in her hand and two cymbals or castanets in her lap, to emphasize the musical character of the cult. This sort of statuette approximates the Goddess to the numerous Matres,[932] who were worshipped in Germany and Gaul, and it was easy for Cybele thus to enter their sanctuaries without losing her personality.[933] The type of Nehelennia with her dedicated dog, of whom two sanctuaries are known in Zealand,[934] may well have been derived by the artists from the Cybele type, for on the votive reliefs of this goddess on the North Sea the names are found of merchants (*mercatores*) from Trier, Cologne and Nijmegen,[935] and it may quite well have been in the company of these coasting traders that the artists travelled who likened the Zealand deity to the Phrygian Goddess.

The only real Metroon that has been preserved in Germany was discovered at Saalburg, thirty metres from the Mithraeum. The sanctuary consists of a long, narrow *cella* and a gallery of columns (*peripteros*); it was built at the time of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61) by one Antonius Aemilianus, centurion of Legio XXII[936] which was stationed at Mainz. This suggests that Mainz was a centre of interest in Cybele as was Mainz-Kastell near Wiesbaden, which is borne out by the discovery of some four inscriptions. An altar[937] that was found as early as 1887 on the bank of the Rhine leads us to the centre of the problem. It was erected on 24 March (*dies sanguinis*) of the year AD 224 by *hastiferi sive pastores consistentes Kastello Mattiacorum* = lance-bearers or shepherds stationed in the army camp of Mainz-Kastell. Who are these *hastiferi*?

Another inscription,[938] dated 23 August AD 236 and dedicated to the 'Power of Bellona', again mentions *hastiferi civitatis Mattiacorum* = lance-bearers of the town of Mainz-Kastell, together with the names of all the members of that college as the repairers of the Mons Vaticanus. Finally mention is made at Mainz-Oberolm[939] of the *vicani hastiferi*, who occur in another inscription as *vicani salutares* = 'salutary companions'.[940] Further reference is made to the existence of a Mons Vaticanus in Mainz-Kastell; a similar Mons Vaticanus at Lyons was also mentioned (see p. 135) and therefore they must have been inspired by the Phrygianum near the Vatican in Rome, from which so many *taurobolium* inscriptions have survived (see p. 45 ff.). Furthermore we learn that here, just as in Rome, the martial goddess Bellona was closely related to Cybele. This may indicate that the *hastiferi* or shepherds here in Mainz were not only a religious society for the worship of Cybele and Attis (note the title *pastores* in comparison with the shepherd Attis), but that they also fulfilled a public function in the *vicus* = village of Mainz, which justified the title of *vicani*. And an inscription from Mainz[941] itself happens to mention another person with the significant name of Victorius Salutaris, who dedicated a white marble altar to the god Attis and whose name is reminiscent of the *vicani salutares*. Finally the title of *hastiferi* is known especially from the great Metroon at Ostia, in which this college even had its own assembly hall. There are some more finds worthy of mention. In Neuss (Novaesium) on the Rhine a pit is thought to have served for the blood-baptism of the *taurobolium* but the suggestion is not quite convincing. It may be here too that a wonderful relief[942] was found, which is now in the Reiss Museum (pl. 75). On a marble slab of over a metre square a severe Goddess is depicted. As patroness of the town she wears a mural crown with gates and towers, on which an eagle with outspread wings is perched, clearly the result of Syrian influence. With her left hand she holds the lion to her lap, a sheaf of ears of corn lies on her outstretched right hand. Under this panel are ranged a flute, a horn, a tambourine and two cymbals. Again, as at Trier, the gentle music of her cult is emphasized. As for Attis, the Mosel at Trier[943] has recently yielded a surprise (pl. 76): a lively bronze statuette shows the shepherd boy with raised right arm dancing in honour of the Goddess.

Cybele in the Danubian Provinces

When dealing with Asia Minor (Chap. 1) we saw that under the influence of the Greek cities the cults of Attis and Cybele had accompanied the colonists to the coasts around the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus). In this way Cybele penetrated practically all the coastal towns of the provinces of Moesia Inferior (present-day Rumania south of the Danube) and Thrace (Bulgaria). Generally speaking one could say that the coast worshipped the Greek Cybele, and the interior the Roman Cybele. For in the interior the Romans had built a string of fortifications (*limes*) along the Danube, from – or near – which towns and villages sprang up. New towns and settlements also came into existence in areas where the native tribes used to have their strongholds before their subjection. But like the Rhine the Danube always remained the frontier, except in

Rumania where north of the river Trajan had added the province of Dacia to the Empire. To the west lay successively the provinces of Pannonia Inferior and Superior with the Savus as a second border river (present-day Hungary and northern Yugoslavia), Noricum (Austria) and Raetia (Switzerland). Southern Yugoslavia and the Adriatic coast were, however, part of the separate province of Dalmatia. Thus a strong Empire existed in the first centuries of the Imperial epoch, its fortresses guaranteeing security from West to East, and its numerous routes by land and sea providing regular transport and communications. The city of Rome was the pulsating heart of this Empire, directing through the Imperial administration the commanders and governors, who in their turn were responsible for the frequent great troop movements. These factors favoured the propagation of certain oriental deities; one only has to follow the Syrian troops through the various provinces[944] to trace how they spread the cult of their national gods in the places where they were stationed. But Asiatic Cybele had already become a national Roman Goddess during the Republic; and so she had been accepted – as it were – by all sections of the community, and her cult in the provinces often joined that of the indigenous Mother Goddess. Thus in the provinces she often acquired special features. The eastern Danubian countries, for example, were ruled by the Thracian Equestrian god, a hero on horseback fighting the evil powers, and often regarded as a Sun god.[945] The tree of life, with the serpent winding its way up, is often depicted in front of his horse, and it is sometimes followed by a representation of the enthroned Cybele, clearly recognizable by her lions (pl. 77). Sometimes the Goddess, who is then represented standing, is flanked by the two Equestrian gods, the so-called Danubian horsemen, not unlike the twins Castor and Pollux.[946] In Augst (Augusta Raurica), in Raetia, on the other hand there exists a small Gallo-Roman temple, which proves that here Cybele had succeeded an indigenous goddess;[947] in the gallery a relief had been found with a representation of women and children carrying fruit-offerings.

Neither mountainous Raetia nor Noricum have left many traces of Cybele and Attis. An interesting inscription, found at Celje (Celeia) on the Austrian-Yugoslavian border, is dedicated to the Mother of the Gods Blaundia[948] by a member of the municipal council (*decurio*), illustriously called Cnaeus Pompeius Iustinus. According to Toutain[949] this surname of the Goddess may be related to the little town of Blaundus in Phrygia. In the village of Gurina[950] in the Alps near Dellbach in Kärnten a dancing Attis in bronze was found, but the finest piece is a bronze from Virunum near Klagenfurt.[951] Dressed in an elegant tunic and a mantle, with a *polos* on her head, Cybele sits solemnly enthroned, resting her left hand on a large *tympanum*, which is decorated with a star.

In Dalmatia Salona (Solin), with its immediate surroundings, is especially important for the cult of the Goddess and Attis.[952] The museum at Split houses an almost unique bronze Attis from Muć (Andetrium), north of Salona.[953] Kneeling down, Attis raises his right hand, in which he probably held the flint or potsherd with which he had just performed his emasculation. The grievous look on Attis' face makes this statuette exceptionally expressive (pl. 78). An altar from Klis,[954] also in the Salona area, records that Curia Prisca has repaired the sanctuary of the Great Goddess,

erected statues of the Lares (*signa larophorum*) and has presented her with cymbals, a dish (*catillus*), scissors (*forfices*) and an altar. Of course, the scholars who published this inscription have immediately associated the scissors with the emasculation, as if they could not have had any other purpose.[955] Another altar from Klis[956] mentions that Servilia Copiesilla had a little temple (*aedicula*), or a relief in the shape of a temple, made and that this was dedicated to the Goddess there. The left side of the altar is decorated with the relief of a dolphin-libation bowl and dog, a motif that is repeated on the other side, where a vase replaces the bowl. The dolphin, which seldom occurs in the company of Cybele and Attis, is remarkable; it does not necessarily imply that the Goddess had any power over the sea, but rather refers to her quality of Mistress of all the beasts; with Attis, however, the dolphin may occur as a love symbol.[957] Salona itself yields an inscription of the *sevir augustalis* Gaius Turranius Cronius,[958] who had a temple and an altar made (*fecit*), furnished (*expolit*) and dedicated (*dedicavit*) to the Mother of the Gods.

In antiquity Yugoslavia was perhaps even more divided than it is now. Just as before World War I, the north-western extremity belonged to the province of Noricum;[959] the north-western area, including Pola, belonged to *Regio* X of Italy, whereas it is now partly Italian and partly Yugoslavian; further to the south lay the province of Dalmatia;[960] Moesia Superior corresponds to eastern Yugoslavia, whereas northern Yugoslavia was divided between Pannonia Superior (in the west) and Pannonia Inferior. All we know of these several parts of Yugoslavia – which is relatively little – is that up to now nothing much has been discovered relating to the cult of the Goddess. In all Moesia Superior, for instance, Cybele is mentioned in only one inscription at Kostolac (Viminacium);[961] Mithras clearly was the most important deity,[962] closely followed by the Syrian Jupiter Dolichenus. These oriental deities are often recorded in the inscriptions. On the other hand Picard[963] has pointed to the many instances of indirect evidence of Attis worship. In the area between Belgrade–Skopje and Okrid he hit upon several head-stones with representations of pine-trees and pine-cones, which allude to Attis. It is moreover striking that throughout Yugoslavia Attis occurs repeatedly in sepulchral monuments, and one relief from Burnum[964] in Dalmatia even shows Cybele walking towards Attis, who is lying under the pine-tree, probably just after his emasculation.

In Pannonia Superior Cybele was received in Sisak (Siscia), Ptuj or Pettau (Poetovio), Ljubljana (Emona) in Yugoslavia and especially in the large centre Deutsch-Altenburg (Carnuntum) near Vienna (Vindobona). Siscia has yielded a wonderful bronze head of Attis[965] from the second century AD and a small bronze Attis,[966] raising a mask over his head with both hands. From the Roman ruins of Poetovio[967] a marble statue of Cybele has come to light; the Goddess is seated in a spacious throne with lions at her side. In Emona[968] a number of local ladies dedicated an altar to the Goddess. Dr Eduard Vorbeck, director of the Museum of Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, shows quite a collection of monuments of the oriental cults. As at Poetovio Mithras occupies the place of honour, immediately followed by Cybele. Her cult is represented by the sepulchral reliefs,[969] a votive altar[970] and two bronze figurines[971] of Attis, both found at the legionary camp. Both at Aquincum,[972] situated

on the Danube east of Carnuntum, and at neighbouring Csákvár[973] evidence of the cult has been found, but for the rest Hungary supplies hardly any information as the Syrians there seem to have managed to advance their own gods. The mountainous areas of Dacia and Moesia Inferior (where the Romans, and at present the Rumanians, have settled) are equally poor in finds regarding Cybele and Attis, but some evidence is worth mentioning. In Dacia there are some sepulchral reliefs with the mourning Attis figure (Germisara,[974] Ilişua,[975] Seica Mica[976] or Medias). In Trajan's time Titus Flavius Longinus, his wife and his children, had a holy place (*sanctum*) assigned to Cybele in the temple of Alba Julia (Apulum).[977] Longinus was a *veteranus*, a former troop leader of the Second Pannonian cavalry (*ala*), a member of the town-councils of Sarmizegetusa and Cluj (Napoca) and moreover councillor of the civilian settlement attached to Legio XIII Gemina (*decurio Kanabensium legionis XIII geminae*). Another altar[978] was dedicated here by Gaius Statius Pollio, another *veteranus* of the 13th legion. Generally speaking the other towns have only fragmentary evidence to offer. But all the towns on the coast of Moesia Inferior are more prolific; the representation of Cybele and the honorary decrees belong to the Greek world, but the tradition was continued into the Roman period. The collection of the Bucharest National Museum contains dozens of reliefs dedicated to Cybele, coming from the various residential quarters of Histria and Tomis.[979] From the south-eastern part of Histria we even have an extensive honorary decree[980] for Aba, a priestess of the Goddess, who is praised for her great merits. Another Greek honorary decree from Tomis[981] mentions annual sacrifices to Cybele and the Dioscuri (second or first century BC). Here a chief tree-bearer (*archidendrophorus*) by the name of Caius Antonius Eutyches dedicated a Latin inscription to Attis in the second century AD,[982] while between AD 293–305 a commander on the frontier of the province of Scythia (*dux limitis provinciae Scythicae*) had a marble head-stone erected to Cybele under favourable auspices (*bonis auspiciis*).[983] In Mangalia (Callatis), on the other hand, both marble and many terracotta pieces were found, together with some moulds in which the figurines were made. Beside Cybele, Attis is now also very much in evidence.[984]

In the southern part of Moesia near the border of the province of Thrace the coastal town of Odessus[985] as well as Marcianopolis[986] in the interior have afforded evidence of Cybele worship. The Archaeological Museum of Varna (Odessus) houses a remarkable relief in which Hercules, as a paladin, with a lion's skin around his shoulders stands triumphantly beside the enthroned Cybele. Naturally the capital, Sofia (Serdica), knew Cybele besides other oriental deities. Here a type occurs of the Goddess sitting on a throne the back of which is partly formed by the backs of the two lions, leaping sideways away from her in opposite directions.[987] A similar exceptional representation exists in Radomir,[988] where the Goddess moreover sits holding a lance instead of a *tympanum* in her left hand. This depiction was practically restricted to Thrace; only one other example has been found in the entire Mediterranean area, namely in Asia Minor, which is not surprising in view of the close contact between the two countries.

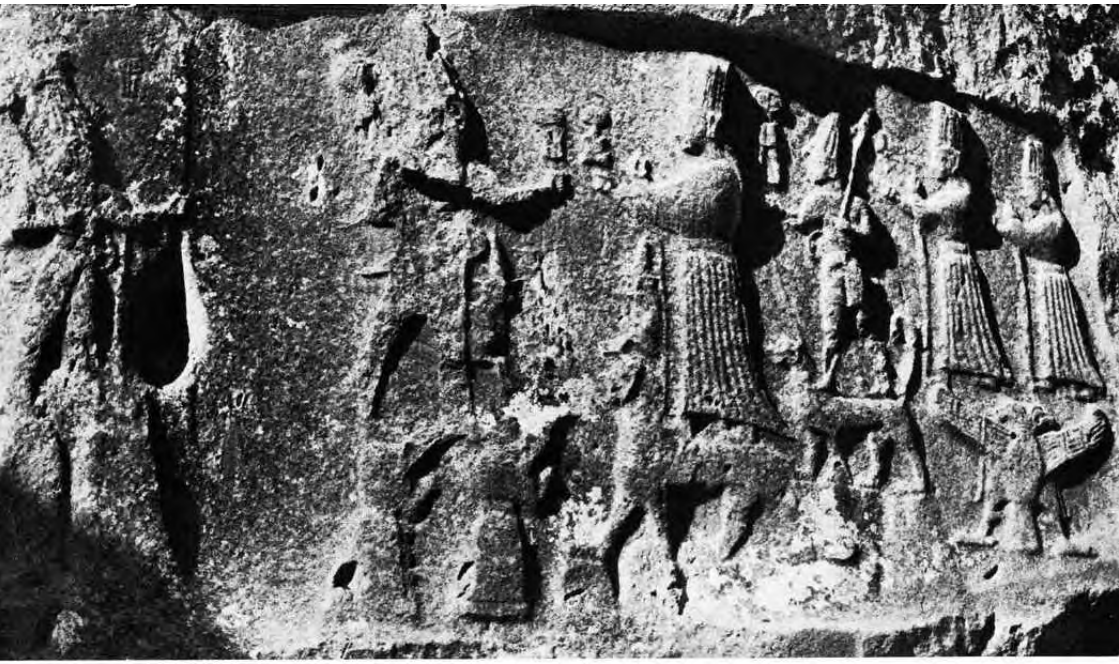
1 The Goddess Hera between two lions. Relief on the neck of a pithos from Thebes. Beginning of the 7th century BC

2 Goddess of Rhyzonia (Prinias) in Crete, 625–600 BC

3 The Lion Gate at Mycenae

4 The Lion-Goddess. Hydria from Meikirch-Grächwil, Switzerland, 6th century BC

5 The earliest known figurine of Cybele. Catal Hüyük, Turkey



6 Rock relief representing the meeting of the Weather god of the Heavens with his wife Hepatu. Yazilikaya

7 The Goddess Kubaba on a basalt relief from Carchemish, 1050–850 BC

8 Rock-monument at the east of Midas City. After *JHS*, III (1882), fig. 9

9 *(below)* Rock-monument at Arslan Kaya

10 *(right)* Goddess from the post-Hittite citadel, Büyük Kale, at Boğazköy, Turkey

11 Road leading to the fortified acropolis of Pergamum

12 Ptolemaic sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Mamurt-Kaleh near Pergamum

13 Discovery of fragments of a statue of Cybele in Yürükler, Bithynia

14 Limestone relief from Bolu in Bithynia

15 Relief from Cyzicus

16 *(below)* White marble relief, probably from Kula in Lydia

17 Relief probably from Smyrna

18 The west side of the Agora from the south-east in the 2nd century AD

19 Metroon built in the Hellenistic period

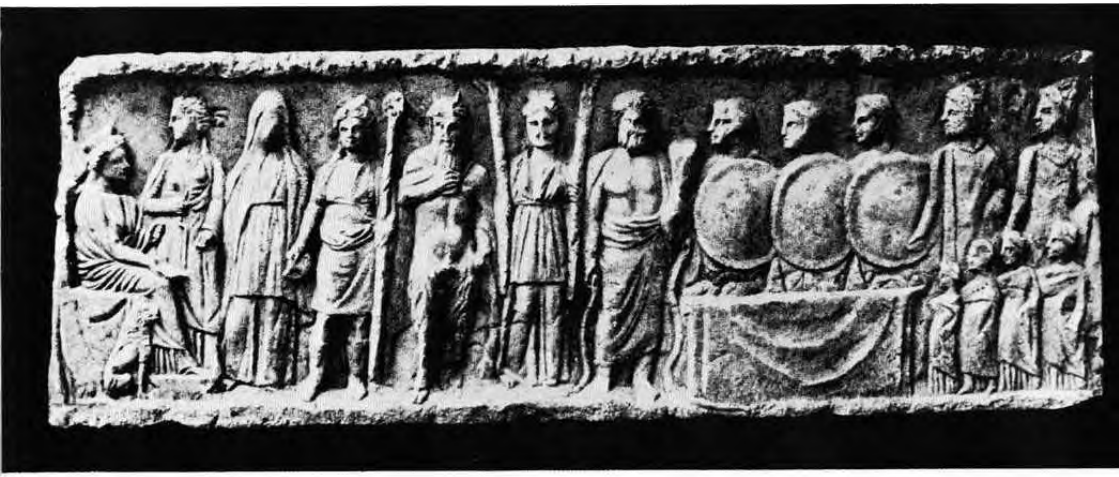
20 *(above)* Statue of Cybele

21 *(above right)* Cybele enthroned. Discovered in 1971, at Moschaton in the Piraeus

22 *(right)* Marble bust of Melitine, priestess in the Metroon of the Piraeus

23 *(below)* Relief depicting Cybele with Hecate and Hermes from the Piraeus. Beginning of the 4th century BC

24 *(below right)* Relief depicting (Cybele) Agdistis and Attis. About 300 BC. Found in the Piraeus



25 *(opposite above)* Cybele in a chariot drawn by lions, 550–525 BC

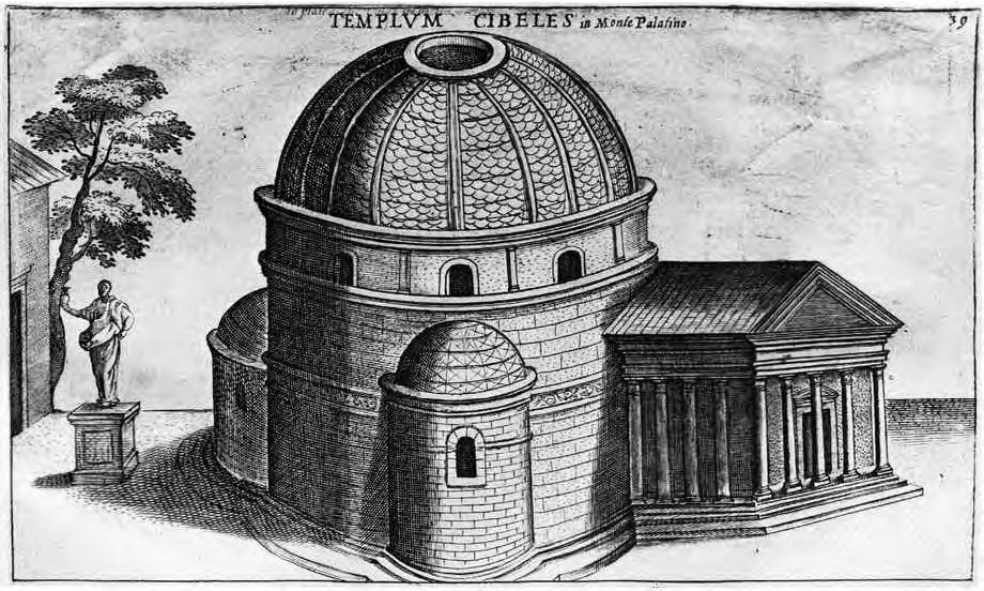
26 *(opposite below)* Detail of Cybele in the lion chariot

27 *(above)* Relief of the twelve gods from Lebadea

28 *(below)* Relief of the twelve gods from Thasos

29 Head of Cybele in Greek marble

30 The story of Claudia Quinta. Altar dedicated by Claudia Syntyche

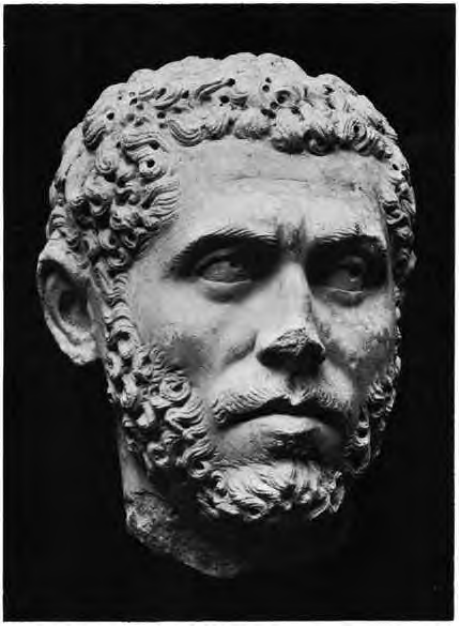


31 The Metroon on the Palatine

32 The Metroon on the Palatine on a relief of the *Ara Pietatis*

33 Pediment of the Metroon on the Palatine. Fragment of a relief

34 Terracotta figurine of Attis, found in the Cybele temple on the Palatine and preserved there in the museum



35 Portrait of Manius Publicus Hilarus, a dealer in pearls and owner of the Basilica Hilariana

36 Drawing by Pirro Ligorio of an altar found in the Vatican

37 The *spina* of the Circus Maximus with the statue of Cybele. Mosaic floor in the Roman villa at Piazza Armerina, Sicily

38 Gem depicting Cybele riding a lion

39 *(above left)* One of four mourning Attis figures in stucco on the ceiling of the *hypogaeum* near Porta Maggiore

40 *(above right)* Winged Attis with burning torch brings Ganymede to heaven. Stucco panel in the *hypogaeum* near Porta Maggiore. 1st century AD

41 The high priestess Laberia Felicla. 1st century AD

42 Back of an altar of Cornelius Scipio Orfitus found on the Via Appia. End of 3rd century AD

43 Entrance to the Attis shrine in Ostia

44 Reclining Attis from Ostia

45 *Fossa sanguinis* in the Porta Laurentina at Ostia

46 Fresco depicting procession in honour of Cybele. Via dell' Abbondanza, Pompeii

47 *(below left)* Attis and Amor, fresco in the Casa di Pinario Cereale, Pompeii

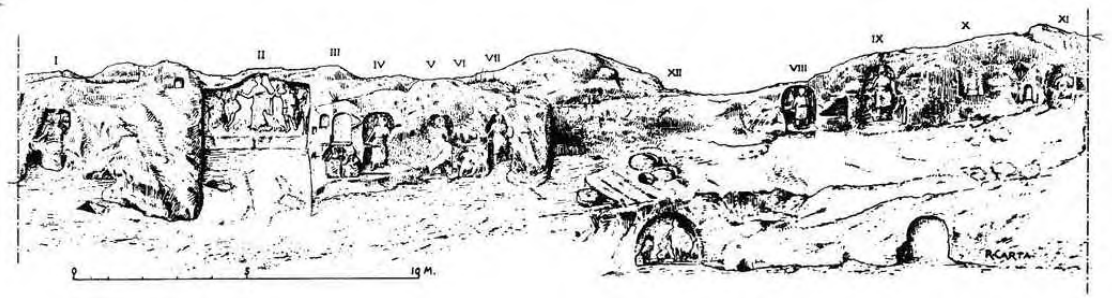
48 *(below right)* Hercules and Telephos, fresco from Herculaneum

49 *(right)* Terracotta mould with representation of Attis (Tarentum?)

50 *(far right)* Apulian lekythos probably by the Darius-painter, *c.* 330–300 BC

51 *(centre)* Engraving depicting the so-called Santoni at Acrae

52 *(below)* View of the rock sanctuary of Cybele, 3rd century BC, on the Colle Orbo, Acrae, Sicily



53 Silver dish from Parabiago

54 *(above left)* Terracotta figurine said to be from Athens

55 *(above right)* Marble statue of Cybele

56 *(right)* Relief depicting Cybele from an Athenian workshop

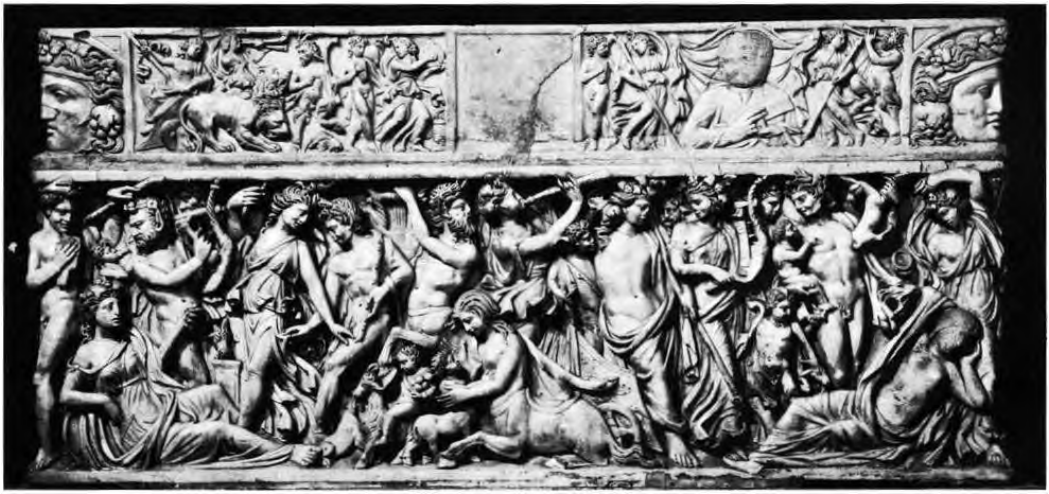
57 *(below)* Relief of uncertain provenance depicting Cybele and Attis with a mother and daughter, 3rd or 2nd century BC

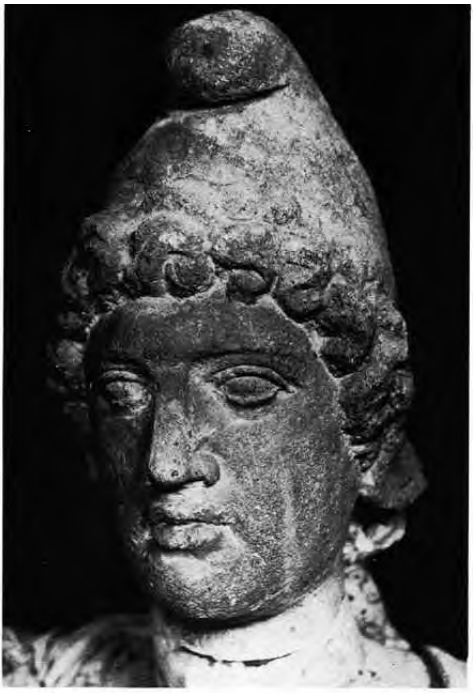
58 The cameo known as the *Gemma Augustea*, depicting the apotheosis of the emperor Augustus

59 *(left)* Detail of a marble base at Sorrento depicting Cybele and Roman deities

60 (centre) Sarcophagus from Saint-Médard d'Eyran depicting the legend of Dionysus and Ariadne

61 *(below)* Sarcophagus from Sidon





62 Head in limestone, possibly Attis

63 *(below)* Marble relief from Glanum depicting the dying Attis

64 Marble funeral urn of the archigallus M. Modius Maximus at Ostia

65 Statue of a gallus

66 *(above)* Lid of a sarcophagus of an archigallus from Porto

67 Detail of an archigallus

68 Archigallus adoring Attis. Porto, Necropolis

69 *(below left) Taurobolium* altar from Lectoure

70 *(below right)* Right side of altar depicting head of Attis

71 Plaque in gypsum from Egypt depicting Cybele with Hermes and Hecate and preserved in Cairo

72 *(below)* Two niches with cult-statues of Baal (Saturnus) and Astarte-Cybele

73 Four tree-bearers (*dendrophori*)

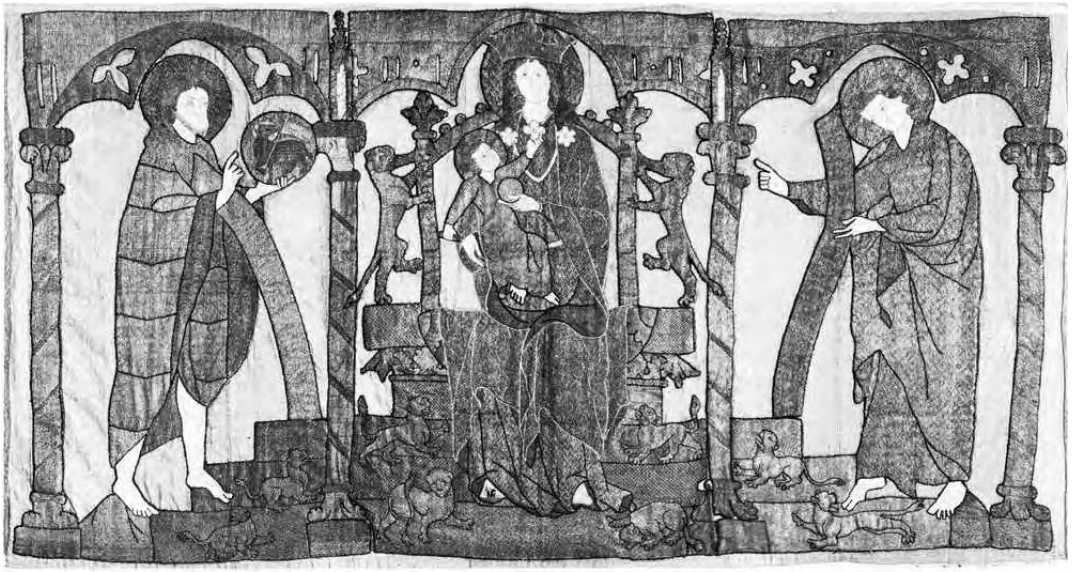
74 Cybele riding a lion

75 *(below left)* Marble relief from the Rhine near Düsseldorf

76 *(below right)* Detail of a bronze Attis from Trier, now in the Provincial Museum

77 *(above)* Marble relief depicting Cybele from Tomis

78 Attis kneeling after the emasculation. Bronze found at Muć (Andetrium)



79 Tapestry from the first half of the 14th century AD

80 Dutch 'Flinterbak' of about 1900 (used to preserve long matches for the hearth)

7
Epilogue

Cybele, the Emperors and Christianity

The nature of the Cybele festivities was different from those in honour of Attis. Whereas the April festivals were national holidays, fixed in the Roman calendar, the March festivals, which commemorate mainly the Attis myth, although received into the official religious calendar, were primarily intended only for committed worshippers.[989] So a difference existed not unlike that which nowadays can be observed between regular church-goers and those who join in the celebrations of Christmas and Easter simply because they are nationally recognized Christian feasts. Cybele, however, was registered in the Roman Fasti, because she was recognized as a national Goddess. When she arrived in Rome she came as the Goddess who would defeat Hannibal, and as the Goddess of Rome's Trojan ancestors.[990] The nobles wanted this situation to continue, but Cybele introduced Attis, and with Attis came the eunuch priests. As Rome gradually expanded its contact with the Orient, orientals gained an increasing influence on Rome.[991] The result of this interaction was that the specifically oriental features of the cult, which the City Fathers would have preferred to restrict to Cybele's temple, gradually began to spread further afield: Attis refused to be confined to the Palatine. In the first century BC his effigy had remained practically within the limits of the Cybele temple, but in the beginning of the first century AD he was frequently seen outside it, as in the so-called Pythagorean Basilica in Rome.

Yet the general religious tendency of the late-Republican period was very favourable to the oriental religions. While Caesar and Cicero[992] adhered to their own national gods, Cicero may even have been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, which he praised, as later was Augustus.[993] The Romans tolerated Attis because, maintaining the tradition of earlier days, they continued to regard Cybele as a national Goddess. But the nobles' tolerance did not indicate support and when, in the early empire, Attis began to move into the foreground this expansion of his cult was neither due to the upper classes nor to any countenance by the Roman State. On the contrary, the ambition of the first emperor, Augustus, had rather been the furtherance of the tradition of the ancient national gods, one of whom was Cybele; the name of Attis occurs only in the biography of the emperor, and even then in bitter scorn.[994] The emperor officially restored Cybele's temple on the Palatine, he lived opposite her temple and, consequently, opposite the Trojan Mother Goddess; his wife, Livia, sup-

ported this Trojan policy by having herself portrayed as Cybele with a mural crown on her head.[995] It would have been unthinkable for Augustus to have drawn his grandchildren Gaius and Lucius Caesar into this propaganda. They became *principes iuventutis*, but they had no link with the Phrygian shepherd, Attis. Nor is Attis found on any of the Imperial coins of the Augustan epoch.[996]

The reason for this official discrimination against Attis in favour of Cybele, with whom he is so closely related, must be that Attis in particular was too un-Roman. Attis is synonymous with an 'emasculated one' (*eviratus*); the emasculation of many Attis priests was an indignity in Roman eyes. And the Christians were neither the first nor the only people to heap abuse on Attis and his followers. Roman poets of the first century AD concentrated on his amorous adventures; in this time of peace words like war and chase stood symbolically for romantic indiscretions.[997] Thus the love affair between the experienced Cybele and the youthful Attis might have been appreciated, be it mockingly, but the sad part of the story, Attis' death as a result of his fatal self-emasculation, could not very well be accepted. By far the greater majority of the Romans, and certainly the traditionalists, merely felt contempt for the orientals who flooded Rome with their strange gods. Nevertheless – and this is especially noticeable with the Egyptian gods[998] who were originally rejected – the Orient exerted a magical fascination. As long as Rome swarmed with oriental slaves and soldiers there would be scholars, poets and inquirers who, out of respect for the ancient civilizations of Egypt and the Near East, sought to know more about these oriental gods and their myths, and wanted to penetrate their hidden symbolism.[999] Contacts were established with the priests, information about the Orient was gleaned from literature, and as can be seen from the *hypogaeum* near the Porta Maggiore a new Attis came into existence in the first half of the first century AD, a figure full of symbolism, but with a limited number of interested followers.

The Imperial House could no longer ignore these oriental deities. It soon became clear that the religious policy of the emperor Augustus and of his successor, Tiberius, to re-establish the ancient national deities to their former glory was too artificial and failed to appeal to popular sentiment.[1000] During the first half of the first century the power and the influence of the oriental gods was seen to grow at an ever-increasing rate.[1001] Caligula,[1002] as is well known, was so kindly disposed towards the Egyptian gods that he had a section of his palace on the Palatine furnished with religious representations from the country on the Nile. One is also reminded of the fact that Egyptian motifs were recently found in the rooms of Augustus' own house;[1003] formally propagating Roman religion, he was privately intrigued by the mysteries of ancient Egypt.

The emperor Claudius[1004] was profoundly interested in astronomy and conducted some scientific research into Etruscan religion. As a member of the *gens Claudia*, which was from the very outset concerned with the introduction of Cybele into Rome, he considered it his duty to guide the Attis festivities into the right channels. Attis worship was to be subjected to certain restrictions, and must not be allowed to get out of hand. Claudius' measures were apparently so effective that for more than a century the Imperial House had no need to legislate further.

Under the emperor Nero another oriental influence came to the fore. Nero was

strongly influenced by Greece, and in particular revered the god of music, Apollo, whom he identified with Helios.[1005] But apart from this Greek Sun god he was also influenced by the Sun god from Iran. Moreover the Imperial House was for the first time officially introduced to Mithras through the oriental ceremony that accompanied the enthronement of Tiridates of Armenia as a vassal in Rome.[1006] Further, Nero built his golden house (*domus aurea*) with many cupolas, which was meant to surpass the oriental palaces; here the cult of a Sun god as ruler of the cosmos (*kosmokrator*) played a predominant part.[1007]

But Nero went too far, and after him several other rulers likewise harmed their reputations over this policy, which sought to raise the sun to a central deity who was to unite the peoples of East and West. Vespasian[1008] was again a national[1009] sovereign who stimulated the ancient cults, but yet remained alive to contemporary needs and on occasions had Cybele temples at home and abroad restored.[1010] Moreover he displayed a keen interest in the Egyptian god Serapis.[1011] However, this policy was not continued by Domitian, who, like Nero, wanted to symbolize the all-commanding power of Rome by means of a sumptuous oriental palace. This emperor has often been identified as the beast of the empire in the description of St John's 'Apocalypse',[1012] and the great harlot of that same visionary 'who sits upon a scarlet coloured beast' with 'his mouth as the mouth of a lion' is said to be none other than the Goddess Cybele. The number 616 would then fit in with *Attei*, as well as with the emperor god (*καῖσαρ θέος*). But this hypothesis has rightly been challenged and is hard to prove.

The second century was ushered in by that mighty general and emperor, Trajan.[1013] Towards the oriental religions he was tolerant, though indifferent. In his personal outlook he was a champion of the national tradition, but he left others free in their views, as long as these did not clash with Roman law. His successor, Hadrian,[1014] on the whole pursued a similar line. As he himself was a great admirer of the Greek and Egyptian civilizations the religions derived from these countries prospered considerably during his reign. But Hadrian proceeded cautiously and judiciously in regard to the alien Egyptian cult, especially in Rome itself, where he preferred not to give offence. For the same reason he was extremely careful with regard to Attis and his exotic ritual;[1015] his policy was to avoid Attis and favour Cybele. His reign witnessed Cybele's appearance on the Roman Imperial coinage. The Goddess is seated alone on her throne with a lion at her feet. In the East similar coins had already been struck, but now they occurred there in great number. Both in Rome and in the East the Cybele coins were issued in connection with Sabina, the emperor's wife, or with the deified Plotina, the wife of Trajan.

During Trajan's reign, in the year AD 114, and later in AD 134 under Hadrian, the Puteoli *taurobolia* took place (see pp. 64 and 102). Soon afterwards this rite must have come into vogue in the capital, for under Antoninus Pius the cult was reorganized in order to regulate the *taurobolium* rites as well as the office of the archigallus (see pp. 101–107). Moreover, unlike his predecessor, Antoninus Pius openly declared himself in favour of worshipping Cybele and Attis together, and consequently no longer tried to push aside the Attis worship.[1016] Jean Beaujeu has emphatically pointed out that alongside the various types of coins on which Cybele is represented alone, there are

also other issues on which Attis is introduced. On one of these coins, struck after the death of Faustina the Elder, the legend reads: *Matri deum salutari*, 'to the salutary mother of the gods'. Graillot has related the epithet 'salutary' to the eschatological function of Cybele, and drawn the conclusion that the empress had been initiated into the Cybele mysteries.

The *taurobolium* rite was now officially recognized, and those who submitted to this ceremony mostly did so 'for the emperor's benefit' (*pro salute imperatoris*). In order to stimulate this rite an Imperial decree was even issued to the effect that discharge of tutelage (*tutela*) could be obtained by offering a *taurobolium* at Portus near Ostia on the authority of the archigallus. In short, Antoninus Pius favoured the Cybele cult to such an extent that it prospered widely in the centuries to come, right down to the final disappearance of all the oriental cults at the end of the fourth century. A similar patronage is found during the reign of Septimius Severus,[1017] who also cherished a special regard for Mithras and the Egyptian gods.

The third century witnessed the gradual intensification of the struggle between Christianity and the other cults,[1018] and formed, as it were, the prelude to the final contest. Heliogabalus and Aurelian, later, strove to achieve a victory for the cult of *Sol Invictus* as the uniting and protecting power of the Empire.[1019] In the fourth century[1020] Constantine achieved the final triumph, when *Sol Invictus* was brought into the service of Christianity. Yet, before the oriental cults were silenced by the end of this same century there were two violent reactions. First, under the emperor Julian[1021] with his circle of Neoplatonists who, sometimes in deeply moving terms, tried to explain the figures of Cybele and Attis symbolically (see pp. 86–87). Secondly a final effort to preserve all the oriental cults was made by the circle of Symmachus,[1022] which had been joined by many aristocrats and intellectuals. As once the emperor Trajan had shown tolerance towards the Christians, so now they wanted the emperor to be tolerant of the traditional Roman religion. They demanded freedom of religious outlook. But the Roman senator Symmachus lost the battle against Ambrose, bishop of Milan,[1023] and so the latter made Theodosius, and not Constantine, the final conqueror of the non-Christian religions. The statue of Victoria, once erected by Augustus in the Senate, was removed once and for all;[1024] no longer would faith be put in the ancestral gods who had hitherto protected Rome and saved it from utter ruin. A new era had arrived.

The struggle between Christianity and the Cybele cult naturally runs parallel with the religious policies of the various emperors. We have seen that before Antoninus Pius the emperors adopted a cautious attitude towards Attis, whereas Cybele herself was accepted as the national patroness. When after the long defensive Christianity assumed the offensive and tried conclusions with the other religions, Attis proved an easy prey.[1025] Even if, at a certain moment, an Attis priest in his desperate defence of the Phrygian mysteries is said to have exclaimed:[1026] 'The one in the Phrygian cap is also a Christian' (*et ipse pileatus christianus est*), it is obvious that Attis could never be a true counterpart of Christ. All the same many scholars have attempted to draw a parallel with Christianity, especially with respect to the March ceremonies.[1027] This is chiefly due to the early-Christian writers themselves. Resurrection (*resurrectio*),

rebirth (*renatus*), supper and purification were the essential themes dealt with by the Christian writers when addressing the intellectuals.[1028] In the fourth century especially this contest was waged on a higher level between the theologians of the two parties, and it is characteristic of the polemical tradition of the day that they did not refrain from resorting to all sorts of vulgar invective. This only reveals the vehemence with which the issue was fought.[1029]

According to St Augustine[1030] the galli were the effeminate ones (*effeminati*).

By these are meant those who nowadays in Rome serve the mother, not of the gods, but of the daemons; and only because the Romans have taken as priests from this people those persons who at a whim have mutilated themselves in honour of Attis; – him the harlot mother (*dea meretrix*) had made a eunuch.

The ancient motif of the galli is one of St Augustine's favourite topics.[1031] Whereas formerly the Magna Mater herself was left in peace she was now also subjected to her share of abuse.[1032] It is she who was held responsible for the introduction of the eunuchs into the Roman temples, not to mention the theatre performances of the myth of Cybele and Attis:[1033]

When I was a young man I myself used to go to those spectacles and sacrilegious mockeries, I watched the possessed ones, I listened to the musicians, I took pleasure in the revolting plays performed in honour of the gods and goddesses, the Celestial Virgin (*Caelestis*) and the Berecynthian mother of all. At the festivity of her purification such songs were sung before her litter by the most vulgar actors, that apart from the mother of the gods not one mother of whatever senator or honourable man, nay, not even of those actors themselves should listen to them. If those are sacred rites (*sacra*), what then is sacrilege (*sacrilegia*)? If that is purification (*lavatio*), what then is defilement (*inquinatio*)?

It is interesting to see another African, Arnobius (*c.* AD 305), deal with the same subject in his writings against the pagans.[1034] He contests the symbolical interpretation (*allegorica dictio*):

In calling Attis the sun he [Arnobius' opponent] says, we mean and say the sun. But if Attis is the sun, how then do you mention and call that Attis of whom your writings point out and show that he was born in Phrygia, that he suffered (*passum*) certain things, and also did (*fecisse*) certain things? him, whom all the theatres know in ridiculous performances, for whom we see during sacred ceremonies, especially annual ones, divine things happen in his name? Has the figurative use of his name passed from the sun to a human being, or from a human being to the sun? For if that name has originally existed for the sun, to what does that golden sun after all owe the fact that you have commonly begun to use that word for that half-man (*semivir*)?

The identification of Attis with the Sun god occurs repeatedly in the writers of the third and fourth centuries; for that matter, the large reclining Attis in the sanctuary at Ostia is already found to be wearing a cap, decorated with a *nimbus* (see pl. 44), and in some cases this cap is bedecked with stars. The culmination of the sun cult is to be found in the Neoplatonist Macrobius (*c.* AD 400), presumably an African, who at a symposium on the occasion of the Saturnalia enters into an elaborate and learned argument about Cybele and Attis.[1035] Adonis, Attis, Osiris and Horus are merely other names for the Sun god. 'Who would doubt that the Mother of the Gods should

be regarded as the earth? This goddess is drawn by lions, animals full of impetuosity and ardour, qualities of the heaven, which under its vault contains the air that carries the earth. To the sun, under the name of Attis, they assign a reed and a shepherd's crook. The reed displays a number of unequal holes, because the winds, in which no equality exists, derive their force from the sun; the staff symbolizes the sun's might, by which everything is controlled. What primarily proves that the ceremonies refer to the sun can be deduced from the fact that, when according to their religious tradition the descent has taken place and the pretended mourning is over, the beginning of the rejoicing is celebrated on the eighth day before the *kalendae* of April. This day they call the Hilaria, in which period the sun makes the day for the first time longer than the night.' This theory is similar to the one found in Sallustius. Further more in many later works of art the figure of Christ was to be represented as the Sun.

At the beginning of the third century AD Hippolytus, bishop of Rome, refuted several Christian sects. In these *Refutationes*[1036] he discusses the Gnostic society of the Naassenes, i.e. worshippers of Nahash (= Hebrew: serpent), who had interpreted Attis according to their own doctrine, because they 'thought in this way to be able to penetrate deeper into the essence of the mystery'.

Of Attis I will sing,
Of Rhea's son,
Not sounding his praises with rolling drums,
Nor on the reed,
Nor with the roar,
Of Ida's Curetes,
But as the Muse
Of Phoebus on the lyre
I will blend the strains. Euhoi,
Euhan, he is Pan, he is Bacchus,
he is the shepherd of the white constellation.

All this evidence reveals a tendency to add more and more complicated theories to the Phrygian cult in the course of time.[1037] But this attitude finds expression also in other mystery cults. By means of this policy the Neoplatonists tenaciously tried to make the Attis figure more acceptable, but they did not succeed. The shepherd god, who had always been hard to accept, became an inevitable target for the Christians. Nevertheless the savage dances and the castration made their influence felt in the Christian sect of the Montanists,[1038] even resulting in the castration of many monks who wanted to withdraw into an exclusively spiritualized world.

For psychological reasons the image of the Great Mother herself, however, often reviled for her intimacy with Attis, has remained unaffected (pls 79, 80), and in many places where Cybele was worshipped shrines to the Virgin Mary have arisen.

acroteria	ornaments (e.g. statue) on the pediment of a temple roof
adyton	inner sanctum of a temple
aedilis	a Roman magistrate who supervised public games, etc.
archigallus	high priest of the galli or priest of Cybele
atrium	the main room of a Roman house or a room in a temple
bouleuterion	council chamber
caduceus	staff, wand
campus	field
cannophorus	reed-bearer
cella	a chamber in a temple
cernus	vessel to which small cups are attached
chlamys	cape or cloak
cornucopia	horn of plenty
criobolium	ram-killing ceremony (see also *taurobolium*) during which the blood of the slaughtered animal streams over the dedicant
decemvir	a commission of ten men
dendrophorus	tree-bearer
dies sanguinis	Day of Blood
eviratio	emasculation
evocatio	evocation (of gods)
gallus	priest (of Cybele)
gens, gentes	Roman clan(s)
hastiferi	lance-bearers
Hekateion	shrine of Hekate
lavatio	washing, ritual bathing, ablution
ludi	public games
metragyrtes	begging priest in service of Cybele
Metroon	temple of the Mother of the Gods, Cybele
mystes	one initiated
naiskos	small shrine
nimbus	halo
orgeones	members of a religious association
patera	libation bowl
polos	stiff high hat
pontifex	priest
pontifex maior	high priest
pontifex maximus	official head of the Roman State religion
quindecemvir	member of a college or commission of fifteen men (see *decemvir*)
sacerdos	priest
sella	seat, throne
spina	axial spine of circus enclosure dividing area into two runs
taurobolium	bull-killing ceremony during which the blood of the slaughtered animal streams over the dedicant
tunica	shirt, tunic
tympanum	tambourine
urceus	decanter, ewer
vires	testicles (of bull/ram)

Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AEArq	*Archivo Español de Arqueología*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPhil	*American Journal of Philology*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
AntC	*L'Antiquité Classique*
BABesch	*Bulletin van de vereeniging tot bevordering der kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BCR	*Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*
Bd'A	*Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher*
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attisdisque*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*
CMRDM	E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis*
CRAI	*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
EPRO	*Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain*
GGR	M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGUR	L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* I–III
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JOAI	*Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*
Mon.Piot	*Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*
NR	Nieuwe Reeks
NSc	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*
PBS	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PG	Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
PWRE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RA	*Revue Archéologique*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RACentre	*Revue Archéologique du Centre*
RAEst	*Revue Archéologique de l'Est*
REA	*Revue des Etudes Anciennes*
REG	*Revue des Etudes Grecques*
REL	*Revue des Etudes Latines*
RGVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
RuK²	G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*
SIG	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*
TPAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

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Notes

Many abbreviated forms, other than those in the *Abbreviations*, can be expanded from books quoted in the *Select Bibliography*.

PREFACE

1 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle. Mère des Dieux à Rome et dans l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1912).

INTRODUCTION

2 A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde. Ein Versuch über Volksreligion*[4] (Leipzig-Berlin, 1925; Darmstadt, 1964), 4: 'Die Frage des Woher und des Wohin des Menschen beantwortet jeder Mensch irgendwie nach Massgabe der Formen, in denen sein Denken gefasst ist. Hier sind die grössten Geheimnisse nicht nur, hier sind die Mächte, die den ganzen Menschen, sein Empfinden und Wollen im Innersten erregen. . . . Erzeugtwerden und Sterben ist das Geheimnis des Menschenanfanges und des Menschenendes; Zeugungskraft und Zeugungsdrang ist das Wunder seines Leibes und Lebens, Todesgrauen das einzige Schrecknis, das rätselhaft Furchtbarste.'
See also O. Pettersson, *Mother Earth. An Analysis of the Mother Earth Concepts According to A. Dieterich* (1967); cf., *RHR* 175 (1969), 69 ff.

3 A.v. Domaszewski, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* (Berlin, 1903), 248: 'das einzige weibliche Prinzip der ältesten Religion, die empfangende fruchttragende Erde, die anders als weiblich nicht gedacht werden konnte'. A. Patrana Riol, 'La maternidad de la tierra', *Helmantica* 20 (1969), 297 ff.

4 E. Neumann, *The Great Mother. An Analysis of the Archetype* (New York, 1955); D. Pétropoulos, 'Le rôle des femmes et de la terre', *Mélanges O. et M. Merlier*, II (1956), 275 ff.

5 J. Przyluski, *La grande déesse* (Paris, 1950); E. O. James, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess* (New York, 1959); C. Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks* (London, 1974). Cf. *idem*, *Zeus and Hera* (Leiden, 1972).

6 M. de Corte, *L'éternel féminin dans la religion méditerranéenne* (Brussels, 1965).

7 *Homeri Opera*, V, ed. T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1952), 89, Hymn XXX *Εἰς Γῆν μητέρα πάντων*:
Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν ἀείσομαι ἠὐθεμεθλον
πρεσβίστην, ἣ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσ' ἐστίν·
ἠμὲν ὅσα χθόνα δῖαν ἐπέρχεται ἠδ' ὅσα πόντον
ἠδ' ὅσα πωτῶνται, τάδε φέρβεται ἐκ σέθεν ὄλβου.
Cf. the Orphic hymn to Aphrodite, *Orphei Hymni*, ed. G. Quandt (Berlin, 1941), 39, nr 55, vs 4–7:
πάντα γὰρ ἐκ σέθεν ἐστίν, ὑπεζεύξω δέ <τε> κόσμον
καὶ κρατέεις τρισσῶν μοιρῶν, γενναῖς δὲ τὰ πάντα,
ὅσσα τ'ἐν οὐρανῷι ἐστι καὶ ἐν γαίηι πολυκάρπωι
ἐν πόντου τε βυθῷι.

8 G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* (1878), 438: *πάντα χθὼν φύει καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἀμφικαλύπτει.*

9 Xenophanes, H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 55, nr 27: *ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ.*

10 C. Christou, *Potnia Theron. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung, Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt einer Gottheit* (Salonica, 1968), 9: 'Sie erscheint in unzähligen Bildern und ist nicht nur mit den griechischen religiösen Vorstellungen verbunden, sondern ist eine der umfassendsten Gottesvorstellungen aller Religionen der Erde.'

11 Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 5: *cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiiugo totus veneratur orbis.*

12 Cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 209 f.:
ἐμοὶ δὲ μήτηρ οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον Θέμις,
καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία.

13 'Rhamnus, the northernmost town of Attica, famed for an ancient temple of Themis, and in later times for a statue of Nemesis' (Lewis-Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *s.v.*).

14 The standard classical work about Cybele is still H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*. Since then only short studies have been published in various periodicals especially by Charles Picard and Pieter Lambrechts which will be quoted later on. A short and stimulating chapter has been dedicated to the goddess by F. Cumont, *Religions orientales*. A *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* by M. J. Vermaseren is to appear shortly in the series *EPRO*, Leiden.

15 *Orphei Hymni*, ed. G. Quandt (Berlin, 1941), 22 f., nr 27.

16 Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter*, ed. E. Cahen, vs 134–38; 315. 'Hail goddess, and save this people in harmony and in prosperity, and in the fields bring us all pleasant thing! Feed our kine, bring us flocks, bring us the corn-ear, bring us the harvest! and nurse peace, that he who sows may also reap. Be gracious, O thrice-prayed for, great Queen of goddesses!'

17 *Homeri Opera*, V, ed. T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1952), 80, Hymn XIV.

18 About the connection *torrēre* roast and *terra*, see A. Walde-J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II[3] (Heidelberg, 1954), who also refer to

M. Niedermann, *Mnemosyne*, III, 2 (1935), 37 ff.; 161 ff. for *Terra mater*.

CHAPTER 1

19 Positions for birth: Lieselotte Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *RAC s.v.* Geburt, col. 173. See also M. W. Stoop, *Floral Figurines from south Italy* (Assen, 1969).

20 For this type see V. Tran tam Tinh, *Isis lactans* (*EPRO*, 37, Leiden, 1973).

21 J. Thimme, 'Die religiöse Bedeutung der Kykladenidole', *Antike Kunst*, 8 (1965), 72–90.

22 Two such sanctuaries are known in the neighbourhood of Pergamum: *a.* Mamurt Kaleh: A. Conze-P. Schatzmann, 'Mamurt Kaleh – ein Tempel der Göttermutter unweit Pergamon', *JdI, Erg.H.* 9 (Berlin, 1911) and *b.* the recently discovered temple at Kapi Kaya: W. Radt, 'Neue Ausgrabungen in Pergamon. Kapi Kaya – ein ländliches Heiligtum der Göttermutter', *Antike Welt*, 4 (1973), 31–39.

23 R. Naumann, 'Das Heiligtum der Meter Steunene bei Aezani', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 17 (1967), 218–47; C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia. Sites and Monuments*, I–III (Princeton, 1971).

24 About the sacred significance of the entrance: Ch. Picard, *Etudes Thasiennes VIII. Les murailles, I, Les portes sculptées à images divines* (Paris, 1962), Chap. I.

25 See T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia* (Berlin, 1960); Ch. Picard, 'Sur l'original de la Némésis – Tyché de Vienne', *RACentre*, III (1964), 101–23.

26 Ch. Picard, 'Le trône vide d'Alexandre', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 7 (1964), 1–17.

27 J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük. A neolithic town in Anatolia* (London, 1967).

28 *Idem*, 183.

29 W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin* (Munich, 1971), 76.

30 Diodorus, II, 13.

31 Diodorus, II, 4, 3.

32 Strabo, XI, 2, 10 [495].

33 J. Mellaart, *op. cit.*, n. 27 above, 201.

34 E. Laroche, 'Koubaba, déesse anatolienne, et le problème des origines de Cybèle', *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), 113–28.

35 See the introduction to E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (Istanbul, 1970); U. B. Alkim, *Anatolia, I, From the Beginnings to the End of the 2nd Millennium B.C.* (London, 1969); H. Metzger, *Anatolia, II, First Millennium B.C. to the End of the Roman Period* (London, 1969).

36 O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Harmondsworth, 1952); E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962).

37 K. Bittel, *Hattusa. The Capital of the Hittites* (New York, 1970).

38 K. Bittel – R. Naumann, *Yazilikaya* (Leipzig, 1941); K. Bittel, and others, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (Munich, 1975).

39 A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*[2] (Munich, 1957), 130 ff.

40 E. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, n. 36 above, fig. 115.

41 E. Laroche, *op. cit.*, n. 34 above, 125.

42 M. M. Vieyra, *The Hittite Art* (London, 1955), pl. 65.

43 The identification with Kubaba (H. T. Bossert, *Orientalia*, 23 (1954), 144 ff.) is doubted by E. Laroche, *op. cit.*, n. 34 above, 127. About the question: G. E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey, an archaeological guide* (London, 1966), 53 ff., who distinguishes between a false and a true Niobe.

44 Pausanias, I, 21, 3.

45 A colour photograph in E. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, n. 36 above, pl. XXIV.

46 P. Wolters, *AM*, XII (1887), 271 ff.

47 Pausanias, V, 13, 7.

48 Pausanias, VIII, 2, 5–7.

49 Pausanias, III, 22, 4: 'The Magnesians, who live to the north of Mount Sipylus, have on the rock Koddinus the most ancient of all the images of the mother of the gods.'

50 G. E. Bean, *op. cit.*, n. 43 above, fig. 2.

51 A. Körte, *AM*, XXIII (1898), 80–153.

52 Diodorus, III, 58 f.

53 Pausanias, X, 30, 9.

54 Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Πεσσινοῦς.

55 Herodotus, IV, 76.

56 R. S. Young, *Gordion, a Guide to the Excavations and Museum* (Ankara, 1968); E. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, n. 35 above, 282 f. The former believes he has discovered the resting place of King Gordios, the latter identifies the great tumulus as that of Midas.

57 Most recently: C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, 72 f. and figs 8–13.

58 E. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, n. 35 above, 274 and fig. 111.

59 R. Temizer, *Anatolia*, IV (1959), 183 ff. and pls 36–37; E. Akurgal, *Kunst Anatoliens*, 97 and figs

60–61. There is a comparable relief from Gordion and preserved at Ankara (Akurgal, fig. 62).

60 E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara, 1955).

61 W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I-II (Oxford, 1895–97).

62 See n. 57 above.

63 C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, 80 and pls 34, 495G and 515.

64 W. M. Ramsay, *JHS*, III (1882), 41 and fig. 9; Ramsay, *JHS*, X (1889), 167 ff. and figs 20–24. Recently: E. Akurgal, *Kunst Anatoliens*, 116, fig. 74; Haspels, *op. cit.*, 93 and fig. 28.

65 E. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, n. 35 above, 275 fig. 112.

66 Of the abundant bibliography I mention only E. Akurgal, *Kunst Anatoliens*, 86 and figs 52–53.

67 *Idem*, 86 and fig. 51.

68 *Idem*, 86 and fig. 73.

69 *Idem*, 97 f. and fig. 55 who dates the statue in the second half of the 6th century BC. Ch. Picard, *Etudes Thasiennes VIII, Les portes sculptées* (Paris, 1962), 36, n. 3 and fig. 13 follows K. Bittel, *Boğässköy in nachhethitischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1959), 114 ff. with fig. 21, and dates in the 8th century BC.

70 See Chap. 2 p. 62.

71 Κυβήβη especially known in Lydia: Herodotus, V, 102; Photius *s.v.* κύβηβος; Strabo, X, 3, 12. In Hipponax: O. Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris, 1962), 168.

72 R. Eisler, 'Kuba-Kybele', *Philologus* (1909), 118–51; 161–209.

73 Lydus, *Mens.*, III, 34.

74 F. Heinevetter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (diss., Breslau, 1912); Rüge, *PWRE s.v.* Pessinus.

75 R. Eisler, *op. cit.*, n. 72 above, 122.

76 Epiphanius, *Panarion*, LI, 22, 9 f.; 285, (ed. Holl), II (Leipzig, 1922).

77 M. R. Gusmani, 'Der lydische Name der Kybele', *Kadmos*, VIII (1969), 158–61.

78 H. T. Bossert, 'Šantaš und Kupapa', *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, VI, 3 (Leipzig, 1932).

79 Săntaš = Σάνδας, Σάνδης = Σάνδων cf. *PWRE s.v.* Sandon cols 2264 ff.: Roscher *s.v.* Sandas cols 319 ff. He has been identified with Hercules by the Greeks.

80 In the word Kufad in the Lydian inscription 4a, 4 (cf. J. Jongkees, *Mnemosyne*, III (1968), 357) the *d* is uncertain and the *v* is preferable: *Kuvav(a)* (Gusmani, 160).

81 M. Guarducci, 'Cibele in un'epigrafe arcaica di Locri Epizefiri', *Klio*, 52 (1970), 133–38.

82 E. Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt Phokaia* (Cologne-Opladen, 1966). See also: E. Will, 'Aspects du culte et de la légende de la Grande Mère dans le monde grec', *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), 95–111; especially 110 f.

83 E. Laroche, 'Koubaba, déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle', *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), 113–28. See also: W. Albright, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 5 (1929), 229–31.

84 J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1912), 123 f.

85 See Ovid, *Met.*, XV, 431–52; A. Alföldi, *Die troianischen Urahnen der Römer* (Basle, 1957).

86 Vergil, *Aen.*, III, 102–20, translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, *Loeb Classical Library*.

87 Dorothy Thompson, *Troy. The terracotta figurines of the Hellenistic Period* (Princeton, 1963), 81 ff.

88 D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, I-II (Princeton, 1950).

89 E. Ohlemutz, *Götter in Pergamum*, 174 ff.

90 H. Kähler, *Der grosse Fries von Pergamum* (Berlin, 1948), 47 and pl. 8.

91 E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamum*[2] (Ithaca-London 1971); see also G. E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey*[2] (London, 1967), 68 ff.

92 Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, VI, 15.

93 A. von Salis, 'Die Göttermutter des Agorakritos', *JdI*, XXVIII (1913), 1–26.

94 A. Conze – P. Schatzmann, *Mamurt-Kaleh. Ein Tempel der Göttermutter unweit Pergamon* (Berlin, 1911). Another sanctuary from the Roman period in Kapi Kaya: W. Radt, 'Neue Ausgrabungen in Pergamon', *Antike Welt* 4 (1973), 31–39; W. Radt, *AA* (1973), 260–69.

95 M. Fränkel, 'Die Inschriften von Pergamon', *Altertümer von Pergamon* (1890–95), II, 322, nos 481–82.

96 E. Ohlemutz, *Götter in Pergamum*, 186.

97 P. Lambrechts – R. Bogaert, 'Inscriptions inédites de Pessinonte', *Ant. Class.* (1968), 540–50 (= *Studia Historica Gandensia*, 107 (1968), 540–50); P. Lambrechts – R. Duthoy, 'La famille des Lollii à

Pessinonte', *Etudes Classiques*, 37 (1969), 302–7; P. Lambrechts – R. Bogaert, 'Asclépios, archigalle pessinontien de Cybèle', *Homm. M. Renard* II (= *Latomus* 102) (1969), 404–14; P. Lambrechts, 'Les fouilles de Pessinonte: la nécropole', *Ant. Class.*, XXXVIII (1969), 121–46. The temple (P. Lambrechts – J. Strubbe – M. Waelkens – G. Stoop, 'Les fouilles de Pessinonte: le Temple', *Ant. Class.*, XLI (1972), 156–73) appears not to be identical with the Metroon (erroneous interpretation of E. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, n. 35 above, 277 f.).

98 See recently S. Gönçer, *Afyon ili Tarihi* (Izmir, 1971).

99 A *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* is in preparation in the *EPRO*.

100 V. Müller, 'Eine Statuette der Kybele in Wien', *RM*, XXXIV (1919), 82 ff.

101 G. M. A. Hanfmann – J. C. Waldbaum, 'Kybele and Artemis. Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis', *Archaeology*, 22 (1969), 264–69.

102 E. Lane, *CMRDM*.

103 In general: F. Miltner, *Ephesos, Stadt der Artemis und des Johannes* (Vienna, 1958).

104 L. B. Holland, *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), 91 ff., whose translation is reproduced here.

105 J. Keil, 'Mysterieninschrift aus dem äolischen Kyme', *JOAI*, XIV (1911), (Beibl.), 133–40.

106 *TAM*, III, 105, no. 267 and others.

107 T. Reinach, *BCH*, XXXII (1908), 499–513.

108 About this epithet: O. Weinreich, *AM*, XXXVII (1912), 1–68.

109 W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge, 1910), 216 f.; 233.

110 Apollonius Rhodius, I, 1092 ff.

111 W. Dittenberger, *Syll.*, I³, 763.

112 Nicander, *Alexiph.*, 8.

113 *CIG* 3657; Lolling, *AM*, VII (1882), 150 ff.

114 Herodotus, IV, 76; translation by A. D. Godley in the *Loeb Classical Library*.

115 T. Macridy Bey – Ch. Picard, *BCH*, XLV (1921), 436 ff. and pls XIV–XV; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 46 and pl. XXV, 2.

116 F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1955), 22 ff., no. 7.

117 Most recently L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX, 94 ff. and pl. I.

118 Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. 2850. Recently, J. Charbonneaux, *Sculpt. Louvre*, 76.

119 A. Dieterich, 'Der Ritus der verhüllten Hände', *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig–Berlin, 1911), 440–48.

120 I follow the description by G. Hirschfeld, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, IV (1893–1916), 68 ff., no. 896; all previous bibliography in F. Sokolowski, *op. cit.*, n. 116 above, 167 ff., no. 72. Cf. L. and J. Robert, *REG*, LIV (1941), 249–60; D. M. Pippidi, *Studii de Istorie a Religiilor antice* (Bucharest, 1969), 85 f.

121 F. Sokolowski, *op. cit.*, n. 116 above, 50, no. 18.

122 Cf. E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), 25 f.; 49 f.

123 R. Naumann, 'Das Heiligtum der Meter Steunene bei Aezani,' *Ist. Mitt.*, 17 (1967), 218 ff. with figs.

124 In general: G. M. A. Hanfmann, 'Sardis und Lydien', *Abh. Ak. Wiss. Mainz (Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl. 6)* (1960), 499–536.

125 G. Radet, *REA*, VII (1905), 1 f. and pl. I.

126 A. Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, II (Berlin, 1887), pl. 137; E. Will, *Relief cultuel*, 430 and fig. 76.

127 T. Wiegand – H. Schrader, *Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen* (Berlin, 1904).

128 M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene* (Berlin, 1964), 101 and fig. 122.

129 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Inv. no. 8634.

130 London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1170; A. H. Smith, *Cat. Sculpt.* II, 159, no. 1170.

131 Izmir, Museum, Inv. no. 1329.

132 Konya, Museum, Inv. no. 702.

133 Antalya, Museum, Inv. no. 840.

134 Simone Mollard-Besques, *Terres cuites grecques* (Paris, 1963) and *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains*, II, *Myrina* (Paris, 1963); III, *Epoque hellénistique et romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1972).

135 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis, passim*.

136 The Attis myth is also represented on the rock-reliefs of Thermai Theseos, north of Kula: P. Hermann, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, 80 (1962), 43 and pl. XI, 3.

137 Cf. P. C. Robert, 'Mythe de Cybèle et d'Attis', *Revue Num.*, III (1885), 34 ff.; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, pl. XIV.

138 R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957), 155, no. 487. I quote Wycherley's translation.

139 See the Suda *s.v.* Μητραγύρτης (R. E.

Wycherley, *op. cit.*, 156, no. 487). About the Metragyrtes see Chap. 5.

140 Julian, *Orat.*, V, 159a = ed. G. Rochefort (Paris, 1963), 103 = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, 154, no. 483.

141 Plutarch, *Nikias*, 13, 2 = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, 120, no. 367.

142 Pausanias, I, 3, 5 = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, 131, no. 402.

143 H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* VI (1937), 135 ff; 203 ff. See also: E. Gerhard, *Über das Metroon zu Athen* (Berlin, 1851); W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*[2] (Munich, 1931), 342 ff.; H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide*[2] (Athens, 1962); J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen, 1971), 352 ff. with bibliography.

144 Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 43, 3 = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, n. 138 above, 180, no. 589.

145 Pausanias, I, 3, 5.

146 Arrian, *Periplous*, 9 = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, n. 138 above, 152, no. 468: '(The goddess of Phasis) to judge by her posture would seem to be Rhea; she has a cymbal in her hands and lions beneath the throne and is seated as is the statue of Pheidias in the Metroon at Athens.'

147 Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 17 = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, 155, no. 489.

148 A. von Salis, 'Die Göttermutter des Agorakritos', *JdI*, XXVIII (1913), 1–20.

149 H. A. Thompson, *Guide*, *op. cit.*, n. 143 above, 49.

150 Athenaeus IX, 407 b–c = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, n. 138 above, 152, no. 470. He speaks about the γραμματεὺς, cf. an ἀντιγραφεύς = a copy clerk in *Agora*, I, 286, who, according to Wycherley, 160, no. 519 'provided copies of the decrees from the archives in the Metroon to be used by the stonecutter.'

151 Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, II, 594 ff. (see also Chap. 3, p. 83 f.). In general: A. Kleingünther, 'Prootos Heuretes. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung', *Philologus, Suppl. B.*, XXVI (1933), 1–156.

152 A. E. Taylor, *Plato, the Man and his Work* (London, 1960), Chap. XVIII.

153 Ch. Picard, 'La complexe Metroôn-Bouleutérion-Prytanikon à l'Agora d'Athènes', *RA*, 12 (1938), 97–101.

154 About these tiles: *IG*, II[2], 4870 = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, n. 138 above, 159, no. 514; a new copy: J. P. Michaud, *BCH*, 96 (1972), 597 and fig. 7.

155 H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V (1936), 2; *Hesperia*, VI (1937), 204 and fig. 126; R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, n. 138 above, 159, no. 517. Athens, Agora Museum, Inv. no. I 2669.

156 J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen, 1970), 31–34.

157. See H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 22 f.

158 To be compared with the situation at Agrai, where the Demeter cult replaced the cult of Zeus Meilichios connected with Cybele. See H. Möbius, *AM*, 60/61 (1935/1936), 234 (see also n. 164).

159 See Chap. 6, p. 132.

160 M. Guarducci, *Klio* 52 (1970), 133–38. See above p. 23.

161 R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, n. 138 above, 154, no. 481.

162 Athenaeus X, 422 d = R. E. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, n. 138 above, 152, no. 471.

163 P. D. Stauropoulos, *ΠΑΕ* 1963 (1966), 17 ff. with plates.

164 J. Travlos, *AJA*, 50 (1946), 375. For the situation: J. Travlos *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971), 289 ff. and fig. 379.

165 A. Delivorrias, 'Eine klassische Kora-Statue vom Metroon am Ilissos', *Antike Plastik*, IX (1969), 7–13.

166 J. Papachristodoulou, *AAA*, *IV* (1971), 140–46 and pl. 1; J. P. Michaud, *BCH*, 96 (1972), 611 and fig. 68.

167 E. Michon, 'Buste de Mélitiné prêtresse du Métroon du Pirée,' *Mém. Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 75 (1915–18), 91–129.

168 For an inventory, see H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 507 f. note and P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1873), 187 ff.

169 For the discovery of votive inscriptions to other deities (Hermes Hegemonios; Artemis Nana; Men) see L. Robert, *BCH* (1936), 206 f.

170 W. S. Ferguson, 'The Attic Orgeones', *HThR*, XXXVII (1944), 61–140, whose dating is followed here.

171 Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. 2443; *IG*, II[2], 2887.

172 Blümel, *Kat. Berlin*, III, 73 f., no. 106 and pl. 84. I mention no other bibliography. Berlin, Inv. no. 691.

173 M. P. Nilsson, *GGR*, II, 615 and pl. 10, 2; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 22, and pl. XI with other references.

174 Pausanias, V, 20, 9: 'the Metroon is within the Altis'. About the finds at Olympia: A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich, 1972).

175 Pausanias, III, 22, 4, mentions that the temple is

conspicuous and is considered the oldest of the Peloponnese.

176 Pausanias, IX, 25, 3.

177 Pindar, *Pyth.*, III, 77 ff. and the Schol. Pind., *Pyth.*, III, 137. At Thebes various representations of the Goddess have been found. As in Samothrace, there are connections between the Meter Megale and the Cabiri.

178 A. Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, II (Berlin, 1887), pl. 137. Recently E. Will, *Relief cultuel*, 430 and fig. 76. Pan as attendant of the Greek Mother already in the statue from Boğazköy (8th century BC) and still in Roman times at Ostia (see p. 20 f.; 62).

179 *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, pls XIII–XIV and reproduced in nearly every handbook of Greek art. In the Isle of Siphnos itself few excavations have been made and Cybele is still unknown there (*PWRE s.v.* Siphnus).

180 Euripides, *Helena*, 1301–68.

181 Various copies from Athens, where the workshop producing this type must have existed.

182 O. Walter, *JOAI*, XXXI (1939), 59 ff. with figs 23–24. Now Athens, National Museum.

183 Recently F. Salviat, *BCH*, LXXXVIII (1964), 239 and fig. 1; *Guide de Thasos*[2] (Paris, 1968), 137, no. 40 and figs 79–80.

184 P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure* (1893), 60, no. 157.

185 *Idem*, 49, no. 64. Cf. no. 47.

186 *IG*, IV, 1[2], 131; K. Münscher, *Phil. Woch.*, LII (1932) (= *Festschrift für Fr. Poland*), cols 95–100 (= 1039–46); P. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, 134 ff., no. 3; K. Latte, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, CXCVI (1934), 409–13; K. Keyssner, *Phil. Woch.*, LV (1935), col. 179; E. Diehl, *Anth. lyr. gr.*, II[2] (fasc. 5) (1942), 72–75.

187 Two monuments at Chalcis, Archaeological Museum. To be published in *CCCA*.

188 N. Papadakis, *Arch. Deltion*, I (1915), 131 f. and fig. 10. Recently Françoise Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, II (*EPRO*, 26; Leiden, 1973), 27. A Swiss expedition is excavating the Iseum again, see P. Auberson – K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria* (Berne, 1972), 139 ff. See also P. Bruneau, *Le sanctuaire et le culte des divinités égyptiennes à Erétrie* (*EPRO*, 45; Leiden, 1975).

189 Pausanias, II, 4.

190 R. S. Proud, 'The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore', *Hesperia*, XXXIV (1965), 21 f.

191 *Corinth*, IX, 47 f., no. 55. See also Rhys Carpenter, *Ancient Corinth. A Guide to the Excavations and to the Museum* (Athens, 1962).

192 S. Marinatos, *Kreta und das Mykenische Hellas* (Munich, 1959), fig. 141; Ch. Picard, 'Rhéa-Cybèle et le culte des portes sacrées,' *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York, 1964), 259–66.

193 M. N. Tod – A. J. B. Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford, 1906).

CHAPTER 2

194 E. Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen* (*RGVV*, VIII, 2; Giessen, 1910). See also H. Kuiper, 'De Magna Matre Pergamenorum', *Mnemosyne* (N.S.), XXX (1902), 277 ff.

195 Cf. P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*[4] (Tübingen, 1972), 6.

196 V. Basanoff, *Evocatio* (Paris, 1947); G. Dumézil, *Rituels indo-européens à Rome* (Paris, 1954), 45 ff., J. Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine* (Paris, 1957), 122 f.

197 F. Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* (Giessen, 1930).

198 G. Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 25–69; T. Köves, 'Zum Empfang der Magna Mater in Rom', *Historia*, 12 (1963), 321–47; F. Bömer, 'Kybele in Rom. Die Geschichte ihres Kults als politisches Phänomen', *RM*, 71 (1964), 130–51.

199 Livy, XXV, 1, 6 ff. For Livy in general see E. Burck (ed.), *Wege zu Livius* (*Wege der Forschung*, CXXXII; Darmstadt, 1967).

200 S. Aurigemma, 'La protezione speciale della gran Madre Idea per la nobiltà romana e le leggende dell'origine troiana di Roma', *BCR* (1909), 31–65; J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris, 1942); (see however P. Boyancé, *REA*, 45 (1943), 275 ff.; A. Momigliano, *JRS*, 35 (1945), 99 ff.); P. Lambrechts, 'Cybèle, divinité étrangère ou nationale', *Bull. Soc. Anthrop. Préhist.*, 62 (1952), 44–60; F. Bömer, *Rom und Troja* (Baden-Baden, 1951); A. Alföldi, *Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer* (Rektoratsprogramm) (Basle, 1957).

201 Hence the statues of Venus in the Metroa of the Palatine, Coelius and Ostia (A. Bartoli, 'Il culto della "Magna Idaea" e di Venere sul Palatino', *Mem. Pont. Acc. Rom. Arch.*, VI (1947), 229 ff.; D. Kienast, 'Rom und die Venus von Eryx', *Hermes*, 93 (1965), 478–89; R. Schilling, *Kokalos*, X-XI (1964–5), 275–82). In general: S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), 4 ff.; 15–18; A. Alföldi, *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken* (Darmstadt, 1971).

202 Livy, XXIX, 10, 4 ff.: *quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset, eum pelli Italia vincique*

posse, si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret. For Livy, XXVII, 37: J. Cousin, 'La crise religieuse de 207 av. J.C.', *RHR*, 126 (1943), 15–41; cf. A. A. Boyce, 'The expiatory rites of 207 B.C.', *TAPh. Assoc.* (1937), 157 ff.

203 Cf. S. Weinstock, *PWRE*, XIX, cols 431 ff.

204 On this question see F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Die Fasten*, I–II (Heidelberg, 1957–58), 229. On Attalus I Soter (241–197) and his successors: E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*[2] (Ithaca – London, 1971).

205 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 265 ff. See F. Bömer, *op. cit.*

206 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 270: *digna Roma locus, quo deus omnis eat.*

207 J. Vogt, 'Vorläufer des Optimus Princeps', *Hermes*, LXVIII (1933), 84–92, who also refers to *CIL*, I[2], 9, about L. Cornelius Scipio, consul in 259 and censor in 258 BC: *honc oino ploirume cosentiunt R(omane)/duonoro optumo fuisse viro.*

208 Livy, XXVI, 19, 3 ff.

209 H. H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life; London, 1971), and H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics 220–150 B.C.*[2] (Oxford, 1973).

210 E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, n. 194 above, 6 f.; F. Bömer, 'Claudia Quinta', *RM*, 71 (1964), 146–51.

211 About the *navis salvia*, see below p. 57.

212 Ines Jucker, 'Ein Stirnziegel aus der Sammlung J. J. Bachofen', *Museum Helveticum*, XVI (1959), 59–68.

213 J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*[2] (Paris, 1968), 401 ff.

214 Livy, XXIX, 14; cf. H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 53. For the temple, which has not yet been identified and for the Clivus Victoriae: E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, I, 257.

215 Livy, XXXVI, 36, 3; G. Lugli, *Fontes*, VIII, 88ff; S. B. Platner – T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929; Rome, 1965[2]) *s.v.* Magna Mater, 324 f.; G. Lugli, *Roma Antica. Il centro monumentale* (Rome, 1946), 455 ff.; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, II, 27 ff.

216 P. Romanelli, 'Lo scavo al tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino', *Mon. Ant.*, XLVI (1962), 202–330.

217 Valerius Maximus, I, 8, 11.

218 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 347–48.

219 *Mon. Ancyr.*, IV, 8.

220 R. Bloch, 'L' "Ara Pietatis Augustae" ', in M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Villa Medici*, 9–23; L. Cozza, 'Ricomposizione di alcuni rilievi di Villa Medici', *Bd'A*, XLIII (1958), 107–11; G. Lugli, *Fontes*, XIX, Tab. VI; Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (*MAAR*, XXII; Rome, 1955), 69 ff. and pl. XX.

221 This fragment fits together with another as L. Cozza has shown and represents the sacrifice of a bull before the temple.

222 Ch. Picard, 'Le trône vide d'Alexandre dans la cérémonie de Cyinda et le culte du trône vide à travers le monde gréco-romain', *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII (1954), 1–17; especially 12 and pl. I, 2. Cf. H. Danthine, 'L'imagerie des trônes vides et des trônes porteurs de symbole dans le Proche-Orient', *Mélanges syriens offerts à René Dussaud*, II (Paris, 1959), 857–86.

223 Only fragments of the lions are preserved. One head, which I saw and photographed many years ago, seems to have disappeared.

224 A. Bartoli, 'Tracce di culti orientali sul Palatino Imperiale', *Rendiconti Pont. Acc. Arch.*, XXIX, 1956–57 (1958), 13–50, especially 14–16; *CIL*, VI, 1040 = G. Lugli, *Fontes*, VIII, 96, no. 254; *CIL*, VI, 30967 = 3702 = G. Lugli, *Fontes*, VIII, 96, no. 255, the latter dedicated on the day of the *lavatio* in AD 192.

225 J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton, 1959), 82 f., who at the same time studied the rite of the *sellisternium* = the preparation of chairs with cushions, drapery and symbols of the gods. Lily Ross Taylor, 'Sellisternium and Theoxenia', *Atti del VIII Congresso internazionale di Storia delle Religioni, Rome 1955* (1956), 349 and 'Lucretius on the Roman Theatre', *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood*, 149, is of the opinion that these seats were in the *cavea* of the theatre (Lucretius, IV, 78–80).

226 Zosimus, *Hist. novae*, V, 38.

227 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 328–30.

228 P. Lambrechts, 'Les fêtes "phrygiennes" de Cybèle et d'Attis', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome*, 27 (1952), 141–70; *idem*, 'Cybèle, divinité étrangère ou nationale', *Bull. Soc. Anthrop. Préhist.*, 62 (1952), 44–60; *idem*, 'Attis à Rome', *Mél. G. Smets* (Brussels, 1952), 461–71; *idem*, 'Attis: van herdersknaap tot god', *Verhandelingen van de Kon. Vlaamse Ak. van Wetenschappen*, 24 (1962), no. 46. Cf. the criticisms of F. L. Bastet, *BiOr*, 22 (1965), 201–3; *idem*, *BABesch*, XLV (1970), 159 ff. which also deals with the controversy between P. Lambrechts, 'Attis en het feest der Hilariën', *Med. Kon. Ned. Ak. Wet.* 30 (N.R. 9), (Amsterdam, 1967) and M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 18, and about the type of Attis Hilaris (see below p. 123). Cf. P. Romanelli, 'Magna Mater e Attis sul Palatino, *Homm. J. Bayet* (Brussels, 1964) = *Coll. Latomus*, 70, 619–26.

229 A. M. Colini, *Storia e topografia del Celio nelle Antichità* (*Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, III, 7; Rome, 1944), 48 f.; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, I, 183 ff.

230 *CIL*, VI, 641.

231 *CIL*, VI, 30973.

232 See p. 115.

233 The *Regionarii* mention here an *arbor sancta*, possibly a small sanctuary connected with the Basilica. Nearby, in the *Castra peregrinorum* = S. Stefano Rotondo, a Mithraeum was constructed somewhat later.

234 *CIL*, VI, 641.

235 F. Cumont, *Religions orientales*, pl. XV opposite p. 172; the mosaic is interpreted, though without much evidence, as representing 'typhonian animals attacking the eye of Horus' by M. T. Picard-Schmitter, 'Bétyles hellénistiques', *Mon. Piot*, 57 (1971), 68 and fig. 17.

236 For the extensive bibliography: E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, II, 34, and figs. 713–14.

237 Martial, *Epigr.*, I, 70, 9–10:
Flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei
Et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus.

238 *Notitia Regionum*, XIV: R. Valentini – G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della Città di Roma*, I (Rome, 1940), 144; in general: H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 337 f.; G. Radke, *PWRE s.v.* Vaticanus.

239 Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, n. 215 above, 325 f. J. Lees-Milne, *Saint Peter's. The Story of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome* (London, 1967) is silent on these subjects; D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome* (New York–London, 1969), 162; cf. R. Turcan, *RHR*, 90 (1971), 71–76.

240 M. Guarducci, *Cristo e S. Pietro in un documento precostantiniano delle Necropoli Vaticane* (Rome, 1953), 66; 69, n. 167.

241 Suggestion of H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 338.

242 Discussion in R. Turcan, *Les religions de L'Asie*, 85 f.

243 See p. 135.

244 A. Kirsopp Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton, 1967), 183; W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London, 1899), 72 ff.

245 W. W. Fowler, *op. cit.*, 71.

246 *Idem*, 198.

247 F. Vittinghoff, 'Zum geschichtlichen Selbstverständnis der Spätantike', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 198 (1964), 529–74, especially 568 with extensive bibliography.

248 *CIL*, VI, 499; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4147; R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium*, 14, no. 13; E. Lane, *CMRDM*, I, 15 f., no. 23. Attis bears the title of *Menotyrannus*.

249 *CIL*, VI, 500; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4148; M. J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, I, 204, no. 513; E. Lane, *CMRDM*, I, 16, no. 24.

250 Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 24, 53.

251 *CIL*, VI, 501; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4149.

252 *CIL*, VI, 502; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4150.

253 *CIL*, VI, 504; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4153; M. J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, I, 204 f., no. 514.

254 *CIL*, VI, 508; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4146; G. S. R. Thomas, 'Flavius Antonius Eustochius n'était pas un archigalle', *Revue belge de Phil. et d'Histoire*, XLIX (1971), 55–65.

255 J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques*, 92–97.

256 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, X, 1011.

257 See p. 107.

258 *CIL*, VI, 509 = *IG*, XIV, 1018. Recently L. Moretti, *IGUR*, I, 112 ff., no. 129 with fig. and previous bibliography.

259 G. B. Pighi, *La poesia religiosa romana* (Bologna, 1958), 208 f.

260 M. J. Vermaseren – C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (Leiden, 1965), 187 ff.

261 F. Cumont, *Religions orientales*, 59 and 227, n. 55; C. Colpe, *Der kleine Pauly*, II, *s.v.* Hypsistos, with previous bibliography.

262 F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 227, n. 57.

263 A. Chastagnol, *Les fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1962), 164 ff.

264 *CIL*, VI, 30966 = *IG*, XIV, 1019 = L. Moretti, *IGUR*, I, 111 f., no. 128.

265 L. Moretti, *IGUR*, I, 127 f., no. 127 with extensive bibliography.

266 H. J. Rose, *JHS*, XLV (1925), 180 ff.; cf. F. Cumont, *Religions Orientales*, 229, n. 66.

267 Yasna, XXIII, 14.

268 See p. 47.

269 See p. 102.

270 See p. 46.

270a Cf. G. Sanders, *Lichen duisternis in de christelijke grafschriften*, I–II (Brussels, 1965).

271 *CIL*, VI, 30780; *IG*, XIV, 1020; L. Moretti, *IGUR*, I, 108 f., no. 126.

272 M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* (London, 1963), 152 f.

273 M. J. Vermaseren – C. C. van Essen, *op. cit.*, n. 260 above, 155 f.

274 *CIL*, XII, 1567 = H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4140; cf. K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 354, n. 2; R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium*, 38, no. 83.

275 C. C. van Essen, 'Over de symboliek der

Romeinse Circusspelen', *BABesch*, XIX (1944), 30–37.

276 E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, I, 236 ff. with bibliography; O. W. Reinmuth, *Der kleine Pauly*, *s.v.* Circus, cols 1194–96.

277 See p. 124 f.

278 E. Remy, 'La statue équestre de Cybèle dans les cirques romains', *Musée Belge*, XI (1907), 245–65; M. J. Vermaseren, *Matrem in leone sedentem* (Leiden, 1970) which will be published in a more extensive form in his *Metroaca*, I, *EPRO*.

279 W. Amelung G. Lippold, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, III (Berlin, 1956), 128–30; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, II, 32 and fig. 710.

280 E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, II, 33 and fig. 712; Marion Lawrence, 'The Circus Relief in Foligno', *Atti del Convegno di Studi Umbri* (Gubbio, 1964), 119–35.

281 A. Blanco, 'Mosaicos romanos di circo y anfiteatro en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional', *AEArq.*, XXIII (1950), 127–42; A. Balil, 'Mosaicos circenses di Barcelona y Gerona', *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, CLI (1962), 257–351.

282 G. V. Gentili, *La villa imperiale di Piazza Armerina*[5] (Rome, 1961); B. Pace, *I musaici di Piazza Armerina* (Rome, 1955); G. V. Gentili, *La villa Erculea di Piazza Armerina. I musaici figurati* (Palermo, 1959); E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, II, 32 ff. and pl. 711.

283 Dio Cassius, LVIII, 7. This statue might also be attributed to Domitian (Suetonius, *Domit.*, 5); for the discussion: M. J. Vermaseren, *Liber in deum* (Leiden, 1976), 42.

284 See p. 179 f.

285 E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, I, 169–73 with bibliography.

286 J. Carcopino, *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* (Paris, 1926), 24; *idem*, *De Pythagore aux Apôtres* (Paris, 1956).

287 Tacitus, *Ann.*, XII, 52; 59.

288 M. Detienne, 'Héraclès, héros pythagoricien', *RHR*, 158 (1960), 19–53; M. Detienne, 'Ulysse sur le stuc central de la Porta Maggiore', *Latomus*, XVII (1958), 270–86; M. Detienne, 'La légende pythagoricienne d'Hélène', *RHR*, 156 (1958), 129–52.

289 As suggested by G. Bendinelli, 'Il monumento sotterraneo di Porta Maggiore in Roma', *Mon. Ant. Lincei*, XXXI (1927), 601–860; F. L. Bastet, *De datum van het grote Hypogaeum bij de Porta Maggiore te Rome* (Leiden, 1958); *idem*, 'Claudius oder Tiberius', *BABesch*, XXXV (1960), 1–24; *idem*, 'Quelques remarques relatives à l'hypogée de la Porte Majeure', *BABesch*, XLV (1970), 148–74.

290 P. Mingazzini, 'Sul preteso carattere religioso della cosidetta Basilica sotterranea di Porta Maggiore', *Festschr. E. von Mercklin* (1964), 90 ff.; see however B. Andreae, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst* (Heidelberg, 1963), 12, n. 11.

291 For the latter opinion: F. L. Bastet, *De Datum van het grote Hypogaeum*, 1, n. 2.

292 G. De Sanctis, *Rivista di Filologia* (N.S. V), LV (1927), 422 ff.

293 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 54. See here also the various winged Attis-figures.

294 H. von Geisau, *Der kleine Pauly*, II, *s.v.* Ganymedes, cols 695 f.; H. Sichtermann, 'Zeus und Ganymedes in frühklassischer Zeit', *Antike Kunst*, 2 (1959), 10–16.

295 F. L. Bastet, *BiOr*, XXII (1965), 202. This view was originally expressed by P. Boyancé, 'Funus acerbum', *REA*, LIV (1952), 275–89, see now *idem*, *Etudes sur la religion romaine* (Rome, 1972), 73–89, especially 88.

296 J. Carcopino, *op. cit.*, n. 286, 110 f.

297 It should not be forgotten that both often occur in the company of the Great Mother: F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (Paris, 1935).

298 F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, Ch. 1: Les dieux hémisphères et les Dioscures.

299 This is the date suggested by F. L. Bastet, *op. cit.*, n. 291 above.

300 For his works, see n. 228.

301 See p. 43.

302 Pieter Lambrechts said 'For me the interpretation of an archaeological monument, if not supported by a text, is a risk' (Hilariën, *op. cit.*, n. 228, 246), but in this case the science of prehistory plays no part. I quote here some important words of the late Henri Seyrig, *Syria*, XLVIII (1971), 338: 'Alors que les textes d'auteurs présentent l'avantage et l'inconvénient de nous apporter une interprétation des faits, les monuments nous livrent des faits parfois difficiles à interpréter, mais des faits bruts, dont la réalité n'est pas attaquable. Or ces monuments, dont le nombre croît encore, se laissent ordonner peu à peu en un système cohérent, qui ne s'accorde pas toujours avec les spéculations que nous livrent les écrits des penseurs.'

303 These will be published in *CCCA*, now in preparation.

304 W. Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.*, II, 614, no. 403 and pl. 58 with previous bibliography; A. Strong, *PBSR*, IX (1920), 209, n. 6.

305 *CIL*, VI, 2259.

306 *CIL*, VI, 2265.

307 W. Helbig, *Führer*, II, 24 f., no. 1175.

308 *CIL*, VI, 493.

309 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 340.

310 C. L. Visconti, *Ann. Ist.*, XXXIX (1867), 296–303 and pl.; G. R. Lanciani, *New Tales of Ancient Rome* (London, 1901), 187, with fig. About the type: Ines Jucker, 'Ein Stirnziegel aus der Sammlung J. J. Bachofen', *Museum Helveticum*, XVI (1959), 59–68.

311 *CIL*, VI, 10098; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 5172.

312 E. van Doren, 'L'évolution des mystères phrygiens à Rome', *Ant. Class.*, 22 (1953), 79–88; C. Picard, 'Le phrygien Hector était-il Galle de Cybèle?', *RA*, 43 (1954), 80–82.

313 *CIL*, VI, 402.

314 *CIL*, VI, 505; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, pl. XVI.

315 *CIL*, VI, 506; W. Helbig, *Führer*, II, 92 ff., no. 1241.

316 G. Calza – G. Becatti, *Ostia*[3] (Rome, 1954), 45. See also A. Grenier, 'Le sanctuaire de la Magna Mater à Ostie', *CRAI* (1948), 144 f. and *REA*, XLIX (1947), 381–86.

317 R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford, 1960), 356 ff.; M. F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, 1 ff.

318 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 35 f. and pl. XXI, 3.

319 G. Calza, 'Il santuario della Magna Mater a Ostia', *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.* (S. III), VI (1946), 183–227.

320 See below p. 135 f. The triangle probably has a symbolical meaning in connection with Aphrodite.

321 *CIL*, XIV, 33 (*dendrophori*); *CIL*, XIV, 34–37 (*cannophori*); *CIL*, XIV, 40 (both).

322 'Mitreo degli Animali': G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, II, *I Mitrei* (Rome, 1954), 87 ff.; M. J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, I, 133, no. 278.

323 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 30 and pl. XVIII, 1.

324 *Idem*, 18 and pl. VII, 1.

325 *Idem*, 35 and pl. XXI, 1.

326 Ch. Picard, 'Le pseudo-Mars de l'Attideion d'Ostie: un Corybante de la Magna Mater', *RA*, XLVIII (1956), 84 ff.

327 R. Calza – M. Floriani Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense* (Rome, 1962), 29, no. 43.

328 G. Guadagno, 'La Cibele Farnese del Museo Nazionale di Napoli', *Arch. Class.*, 18 (1966), 70–82.

329 R. Calza, *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, VI (1946), 191–200.

330 Recently R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*[2] (Oxford, 1973).

331 H. Bloch, *NSc* (S.8), VII (1953), 243 f., no. 7 with fig. 7. *Signum M* might be interpreted as either *M(atris)* or *M(artis)*.

332 *CIL*, XIV, 429; Altmann, *Grabaltäre*, 238 and fig. 191.

333 *CIL*, XIV, 371 between AD 161–70; W. Helbig, *Führer*, I, 229 f., no. 291.

334 Ines Jucker, *Museum Helveticum*, XVI (1959), 60 and fig. 3.

335 G. Calza, *NSc* (S.5), XI (1914), 289 f. and fig. 6.

336 *CIL*, XIV, 3534; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 6227.

337 *CIL*, XIV, 3562 a; *Inscr. It.*, IV (1), 31, no. 63.

338 Küthmann, *Kat. Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, 34 f., no. 15 with fig.

339 *CIL*, VI, 32466; J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques*, 93, no. 3.

340 Paribeni, *NSc* (S.6), II (1926), 206 ff. and pl. I; J. Carcopino, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. Arch.*, IV (1926), 213 ff.

341 Rome, Capitoline Museum, Inv. no. 1207. Recently W. Helbig, *Führer*, II, 25 f., no. 1176.

342 R. Lanciani, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, 134 ff.; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 429 f.

343 Poulsen, *Kat. Skulpt. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 235, no. 333 and pl. XXIII.

344 Poulsen, *op. cit.*, 105, no. 122 and pl. IX.

345 *CIL*, X, 6074; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4109.

346 V. Tran tam Tinh, *Divinités orientales en Campanie*.

347 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 34.

348 V. Tran tam Tinh, *op. cit.*, n. 346 above, 86.

349 *CIL*, X, 1587; 3699; 1790; 1803; 1786; 1894. For details I refer to Tran tam Tinh.

350 For the abbreviation *D(is) M(anibus)* see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971).

351 A. de Franciscis, *Bd'A*, 35 (1950), 153 and fig. 1.

352 M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I. The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere* (*EPRO*, 16; Leiden, 1971).

353 V. Tran tam Tinh, *op. cit.*, n. 346 above, 115.

354 V. Tran tam Tinh, *idem*, 115–17.

355 V. Tran tam Tinh, *Divinités orientales à Herculanum*.

356 *CIL*, X, 1046; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 250.

357 *CIL*, VI, 934.

358 V. Tran tam Tinh, *Le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*

(Paris, 1964); K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (Munich, 1962).

359 V. Spinazzola, *Pompei*, I, *Pompei alla luce degli Scavi della Via dell'Abbondanza*, I (Rome, 1953), 213 ff. with plates.

360 V. Spinazzola, *Pompei*, II, figs 669–70; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 56 and pl. XXXVIII; K. Schefold, *op. cit.*, n. 358 above, 114; 169 and pl. 79.

361 K. Schefold, *idem*, 168 f. and pl. 170, 4.

362 Naples, National Museum, Inv. no. 8845; V. Spinazzola, *Pompei*, I, 239 and fig. 269; K. Schefold, *idem*, 48 and pl. 2, 2 (in colour). I differ here from Schefold's interpretation.

363 Naples, National Museum, Inv. no. 9008; recently Christa Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst* (Würzburg, 1971), 35; 81, no. 25 with previous bibliography. A colour photograph in A. Maiuri, *Le pitture di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Milan, 1959), tav. III; cf. Bianca Maiuri, *Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Novara, 1957), opposite p. 86; G. Hafner, 'Der Adlerkameo und die "Auffindung des Telephos" ', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 38 (1969), 213–42.

364 P. Romanelli, *Mont. Ant.*, XLVI (1962), 284 and fig. 56.

365 *CIL*, X, 8339 d: *colegius* (sic) *canofororum*.

366 Walters, *Cat. Terracottas Brit. Mus.*, 435.

367 L. Castiglione, *Acta Arch.*, 24 (1972).

368 P. Lambrechts, 'Le culte métroaque en Sicilie et en Italie méridionale', *BABesch*, 39 (1964), 162–66. A little terracotta group of Cybele and Attis: Benita Sciazza, *Brindisi e il suo Museo* (Brindisi, 1966), 19 and fig. 20.

369 F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (Paris, 1935).

370 W. Hermann, *AA* (1966), 271 and figs 10–13.

371 *A. Emmerich Gallery, Art of the Ancients* (New York, 1968), 37, no. 45; *The Frederick M. Watkins Collection* (Harvard, 1973), 75, no. 30 with plates.

372 About the Corinthian helmets: A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967).

373 Cicero, *II in Verrem*, IV, 44, 97; cf. V, 72, 186.

374 Giulia Sfameni-Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, 114–55.

375 L. Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* (Catania, 1956).

376 Cf. F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures*.

377 G. Sfameni-Gasparro, *op. cit.*, n. 374 above, 148.

378 *Idem*, 278, no. 334 and fig. 148.

379 *Hymn to Demeter*, 200 ff. Most recently: N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 215 f. with bibliography. See also G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961). The gesture is also known of Isis: F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, I (*EPRO*, 26; Leiden, 1973); 85 and pls XXI–XXII. For Priapus: H. Herter, *De Priapo* (Giessen, 1932), 114 ff.; 180 ff.; for Hermaphrodite: M. Delcourt, *Hermaphroditea* (Brussels, 1966), 30 ff.

380 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 57 and pl. XL.

381 G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture*, I–II, (Rome, 1958–61).

382 *CIL*, XI, 3080.

383 Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 40. But Josephus, *Ant. Iud.*, 18, 5, 4 notes that Tigranes was childless.

384 *Bolsena 1962–1968, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1969), 18, no. 15 and fig. 19; J.-M. Pailler, 'A propos d'un nouvel oscillum de Bolsena', *Mél. Arch. Hist.*, 81 (1969), 627–58; cf. J.-M. Pailler, 'Attis, Polyphème et le thiase bachique: quelques représentations méconnues', *Mél. Arch. Hist.*, 83 (1971), 127–39.

385 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 15 and pl. V.

386 G. A. Mansuelli, 'Monumenti dei Culti orientali scoperti a Sarsina', *RM*, 73–74 (1966–67), 147–89. The 'Mithras', however, is in fact a second statue of Attis; the 'Anubis' is a statue of a standing Isis; there are no certain indicia for the existence of a *hemicyclus*: M. J. Vermaseren, 'Iconografia e Iconologia di Attis in Italia', to be published in the *Atti del XXVII Convegno di Studi Romagnoli 1977*.

387 J. P. Lauer – Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (Paris, 1955); cf. W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis* (*EPRO*, 32; Leiden, 1973).

388 *CIL*, V, 5881.

389 *CIL*, V, 3438.

390 *CIL*, V, 795 a; *CIL*, V, 796 = H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4101.

391 *CIL*, V, 761 = H. Dessau, *ILS*, 3499.

392 H. Brouwer, *The Cult of Bona Dea*, *EPRO*, in preparation.

393 *CIL*, V, 519.

394 *CIL*, V, 488; cf. lastly Swoboda, *BJ*, 169 (1969), 207, no. 21.

395 The discussion in Valnea Scrinari, *Tergeste* (Rome, 1951), 45 and 75 f. with pl. VIIIa.

396 *CIL*, V, 6956a.

397 *CIL*, V, 6961; 6962; cf. R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium*, 13, nos 8 and 9.

CHAPTER 3

398 Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, I (Paris, 1935), 448, with bibliography.

399 Ch. Picard, 'Statues archaïques assises de l'Héraion délien,' *Revue de l'Art*, XLV (1924), 81–95; 175–85; W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), 246–59.

400 C. Christou, *Potnia Thêron* (Salonica, 1968).

401 Ch. Picard, 'Potnia Androon te Theoon te', *RHR*, XLVIII (1928), 60–77; Ch. Picard, *Die grosse Mutter von Kreta bis Eleusis* (Zurich, 1938); W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (Munich-Vienna, 1971).

402 K. Hoenn, *Artemis. Gestaltwandel einer Göttin* (Zurich, 1946).

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405 Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*, n. 398 above, 376 and fig. 106.

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410 A. Levi, *La Patera di Parabiago, Opere d'Arte*, V (Rome, 1935); M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 27 f. and pl. XVII.

411 W. H. Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* III (1) *s.v.* Kureten und Korybanten (Immisch).

412 G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome, 1948).

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415 P. Wuilleumier – A. Audin, *Les médaillons d'applique gallo-romains* (Paris, 1952).

416 *Werke antiker Goldschmiedekunst. Sonderliste M. Münzen und Medaillen* (Basle, September, 1970); T. Hackens – E. Lévy, 'Trésor hellénistique trouvé en Délos en 1964', *BCH*, LXXXIX (1965), 541 ff.

417 E. Pernice – F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin, 1901).

418 G. P. Oikonomos, 'Bronzen von Pella', *AM*, LI (1926), 92–97 and figs 9–10.

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420 *CIL*, XIV, 34; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4111 (Ostia): *imaginem Matris deum argenteam pondo I*; *CIL*, XIV, 35; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4112: *imaginem Attis argentiam* (sic) *pondo I cum sigillo Frugem aereo*; *CIL*, XIV, 36; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4113: *typum Matris deum argenti pondo II*; *CIL*, XIV, 37; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4114: *signum Attis*. For the terminology, see E. Will, *Relief cultuel*, 48–50.

421 D. Mano Zisi, *Nalaz iz Tekye* (Narodni Muzej Beograd, Antika II) (Belgrade, 1957).

422 V. Tran tam Tinh, *Divinités orientales à Herculanum*, 92 f., nos 66–67 and figs 30–31.

423 O. Koyunoğlu, 'Bronzes from Izmit', *Ann. Arch. Mus. Istanbul*, VI (1953), 85–90 and figs 29–30. For Bavai: G. Faider-Feytmans, 'Sur quelques bronzes figurés provenant des ateliers de la région de Bavai,' *RA* (1964), 109–29 with previous bibliography.

424 Recently S. Göncer, *Afyon ili Tariki* (Izmir, 1971), 160 ff., who sums up the places in Phrygia.

425 P. Lambrechts, 'Cybèle, divinité étrangère ou nationale', *Bull. Soc. royale belge d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire*, LXII (1951), 44 = 60. Lambrechts mentions the coins of the *gens Volteia, Plaetoria, Fabia* and of the *Metelli*.

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427 P. Lambrechts, 'Livie-Cybèle,' *La Nouvelle Clio*, IV (1952), 251–60; W. B. Kaiser, 'Die Göttin mit der Mauerkrone', *Schweizer Münzblätter*, 18 (1968), Heft 70, 25–36.

428 F. Eichler – E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Vienna, 1927), 52 f.; P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, 259 f., n. 5. For the interpretation of the flying figure as an Attis on the Cameo of Sainte Chapelle in Paris: E. Täubler, 'Attis auf dem Kameo de la Sainte Chapelle', *RM*, XXXIV (1910), 84 ff.

429 L. Mercando, *Lucerne greche e romane dell' Antiquarium Comunale* (Rome, 1962), Tav. VII. For other types see M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, pls XIII; XXV. For the lying Attis (*idem*, pl. XIX, 2), see now P. Bruneau, 'Lampes corinthiennes', *BCH*, XCV (1971), 483 ff.

430 J. Deneauve, *Lampes de Carthage* (Paris, 1969).

431 I omit the textile panel in the Metropolitan Museum (P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945), which is not

Metroac but Dionysiac (V. F. Lenzen, *The Triumph of Dionysus on Textiles of Late Antique Egypt = Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Arch.* V, 1, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960). See also Ch. Picard, *RA* (S.6), XXVIII (1947), 107–13.

432 G. E. Rizzo, *La Base di Augusto* (Naples, 1933 = *BCR*, LX, 1932); Inez Scott Ryberg, 'Rites of the Roman State Religion', *MAAR*, XXII (1955), 50 ff.

433 W. Helbig, *Führer*, I, 229 f., no. 291 with previous bibliography.

434 *CIL*, XIV, 371.

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436 J. Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1963), 212 ff.

437 V. Spinazzola, *Pompei*, 226 and fig. 253.

438 C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'Sarcophage de Sidon représentant le mythe de Marsyas', *RA* (S.3), XI (1888), 160–67; F. Poulsen, *Katalog over antike Skulpturer. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1940), 532 ff. and pl. LXVII.

439 See also Chap. 2, p. 55.

440 A. Conze, 'Hermes-Kadmilos', *Arch. Zeitung*, 38 (1880), 1–10; *idem*, Hermes-Kadmilos, *AM*, 13 (1888), 202–6; *AM*, XV (1891), 191–93.

441 J. M. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, I-III (Athens, 1908–37). See the monument from the Piraeus, Inv. no. 1554.

441a A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the British Museum*, I (London, 1892), 362, no. 788; O. Walter, *JOAI*, XXXI (1939), 72 and fig. 26.

442 O. Walter, *JOAI*, XXXI (1939), 70 and fig. 25. The monument seems to be lost.

443 Ch. Picard, *Mon. Piot*, 40 (1944), 107 ff. and pl. 10; *Mon. Piot*, 49 (1957), 53 f. and fig. 5; F. Salviat, 'Stèles et Naïskoi de Cybèle à Thasos', *BCH*, 88 (1964), 239–51; 239 and fig. 1; *Guide de Thasos* (Paris, 1968), 137, no. 40 and figs 79–80.

444 O. Walter, *JOAI*, XXXI (1939), 59 ff. and figs 23–24.

445 F. Muller, 'Studia ad Terrae Matris cultum pertinentia', *Mnemosyne* (S.III), II (1935), 37–50; 161–228.

446 See p. 36.

447 J. M. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, n. 441 above, 363 ff., no. 119, no. 1421 and pl. XLV with fig. 192. For two Pan-figures on a relief from Athens and dedicated to Cybele, Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, III (Rome, 1974), 22, and fig. 8.

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449 F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (Paris, 1935); B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala, 1950).

450 G. E. Rizzo, *La Base di Augusto* (Naples, 1933); Inez Scott Ryberg, *op. cit.*, n. 432 above, 55 ff.

CHAPTER 4

451 W. H. Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, II, 2, *s.v.* Meter, cols 2848 ff.

452 K. Ziegler, 'Mater magna oder magna Mater', *Mél. Renard*, II, 845–55.

453 Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 391.

454 *Anthologia Palatina*, VI, 51.

455 Euripides, *Bacch.*, 58 f. Other data in the E. R. Dodds ed. (Oxford, 1944), 68.

456 *Op. cit.*, 72–82; translation by A. S. Way in *Loeb Classical Library*, cf. Jeanne Roux, *Euripide les Bacchantes*, II (Paris, 1972), 268 ff.

457 *Homeri Opera*, V, ed. T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1952), 80, Hymn XIV.

458 Diels, 55, no. 27. See above n. 9.

459 Plato, *Menexenos*, 237 d.

460 W. J. W. Koster, *De Epidaurische hymne op de magna Mater* (*Med. Kon. Ned. Akad. Wet. Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, 25, 4; Amsterdam, 1962). See also P. Maas, 'Epidaurische Hymnen', *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* (*Geisteswiss. Klasse*), 9 (1933), 134 ff.

461 *IG*, IV, 1^2, 131.

462 Pausanias, IX, 25, 3.

463 Pindar, *Pyth.*, III, 78.

464 J. Perret, *Le 'Mythe de Cybèle' (Lucrèce II, 600–660)*, *REL*, XIII (1935), 332–57; P. Boyancé, 'Une exégèse stoïcienne chez Lucrèce', *REL*, XIX (1941), 147–61 = P. Boyancé, *Lucrèce et l'Epicurisme* (Paris, 1963); A. Kirsopp Michels, 'Lucretius, Clodius and Magna Mater', *Mél. Carcopino* (Paris, 1966), 675–79. Translation of Lucretius by R. E. Latham, *Penguin Classics*. The subsequent translations of Ovid (*Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*), Vergil and Julian are respectively by F. S. Miller and Sir James Frazer, *Loeb Classical Library*, A. Mandelbaum (Berkeley, Los Angeles–London, 1971), and W. C. Wright, *Loeb Classical Library*.

465 G. B. Pighi, *La poesia religiosa romana* (Bologna, 1958), 208 f. Cf. also M. J. Vermaseren – C. C. van Essen, *op. cit.*, n. 260 above, 188 ff.

466 In general: H. Hepding, *Attis*; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*.

466a Translation by A. D. Godley in the *Loeb Classical Library*.

467 This is the meaning of his name. An interesting inscription from Attuda in the valley of the river Maeander (*BCH*, II (1887), 349, no. 5) mentions a priest *θεᾶς Μητρὸς Ἀδράστου*.

468 This *ἐπιχώριος λόγος* in Pessinus is known through the Eleusinian priest Timotheus and later on through both Pausanias, VII, 17 and Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 5–7.

469 Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite. Mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l'Antiquité classique* (Paris, 1958); *idem; Hermaphroditea. Recherches sur l'être double promoteur de la fertilité dans le monde classique* (Brussels, 1966); L. Brisson, *Le mythe de Tirésias* (*EPRO*, 55; Leiden, 1976).

470 H. Hepding, *Attis*, 109.

471 W. H. Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, I, 1, *s.v.* Agdistis. She is honoured in several inscriptions. See also the relief from the Piraeus in Athens, in which Attis is seated on a rock facing Agdistis (p. 35 and pl. 24).

472 *Idem*, *s.v.* Nana (Wagner).

473 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 221–44.

474 Cf. Ch. Picard, 'La rencontre sur le mont Dindymon et la passion d'Attis: d'après un cratère de bronze hellénistique', *RA* (1960), 63–72.

475 Diodorus, III, 58–59.

476 M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, n. 466 above, Leiden, 1966.

477 P. Lambrechts, 'Attis: van herdersknaap tot god', *Verh. Kon. Vlaamse Ak. Wet.*, 24 (1962), no. 46.

478 It is interesting to observe the diffusion of this type from Macedonia (Amphipolis-Seres) – Rome as far as southern Italy (Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 19).

479 *CIL*, VI, 505, now in the Villa Albani. For the bibliography see Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 27, n. 3 and pl. XVI. See also in this book p. 59.

480 Ch. Picard, *RA* (1960), 63–72.

481 M. F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, 11 and pl. III; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 35 and pl. XXI, 1.

482 H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum* (Paris, 1946), 98 and fig. 63; *idem*, *Glanum* (Paris, 1949), pls XXXI–XXXIII; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 35 and pl. XXI, 2.

483 V. Spinazzola, *Pompei*, figs 669–70. See also in this book pl. 47.

483a M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 33 and pl. XIV, 2.

484 W. Helbig, *Führer*, I, 827, no. 1153 with bibliography.

485 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, pl. XI, 1; R. Thouvenot, *Catalogue des figurines et objets de bronze du Musée archéologique de Madrid*, I (Paris, 1957), 12, no. 18 and pl. III; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 16 and pl. VI, 1.

486 D. Facenna, *NSc* (S.8), 76 (1951), 68 and fig. 13b; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 52 and pl. XXXIII, 2.

487 M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, 38 and pl. XXIII.

488 *Idem*, 14, n. 5; 46; T. Macridy – Ch. Picard, 'Attis d'un Métroon de Cyzique', *BCH*, XLV (1921), 436 ff.; cf. P. Devambez, 'Deux pilliers décorés trouvés à Cyzique', *RA* (S.6), IX (1937), 176 ff.; Ch. Picard, 'Attis – Atlante et le pilier du ciel', *Starinar* (N.S.), 7–8 (1956–57), 15–22.

489 For the early Christian authors' opinion on eunuchs: G. M. Sanders, *RAC*, *s.v.* Gallos, cols 1027–31.

CHAPTER 5

490 See Chap. 2.

491 I refer to the famous statement of Lucian, *Περὶ ὀρχήσεως*, 15 that there cannot exist an ancient mystery-cult without dance; *ἐῶ λέγειν ὅτι τελετὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀρχαίαν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως*. For *ululatus* = *ὀλόλυγμα* = *ὀλολυγή*: M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 42; Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, V (Paris, 1890), 30 writing about the Phrygian music: 'Aujourd'hui, pour nos sociétés civilisées, la musique n'est guère qu'un amusement, un plaisir délicat; ce n'est plus une ivresse, aussi irrésistible, aussi redoutable que celle du vin.' Cf. Martial, *Ep.*, XI, 84, 4: *cum furit ad Phrygios enthea turba modos*.

492 Martial, *Ep.*, XI, 81.

493 It is no longer necessary to give an extensive bibliography after the fine article (1972) of G. M. Sanders, *RAC*, *s.v.* Gallos.

494 M. F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, 12, with other references. The urn is now in the Museo Paolino (Vatican City); not in W. Helbig, *Führer*, I. The same play upon the words gallus-Gallus occurs in some Roman authors (Martial, *Ep.*, XIII, 63; XIII, 64; Juvenal, III, 90; Suetonius, *Nero*, 45, 4; cf. *RAC*, *s.v.* Gallos col. 986).

495 Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *γάλλος* (= H. Hepding, *Attis*, 74).

496 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 31 ff.

497 Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 237; cf. Catullus, 63, 5: *devolvit ile acuto sibi pondere silicis*; Martial, *Ep.*, III, 81, 3: *abscisa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa / si tibi tam gratus, Baetice, cunnus erat?*

498 Pliny, *NH*, XXXV, 48, 165.

499 See the scenes of Attis' emasculation at Ostia and Glanum: M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 35.

Claudian, XVIII, 280: *et reliquum Phrygiis abscidere cultris.*

500 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 183: *ibunt semimares et inania tympana tundent*; Minucius Felix, *Oct.*, 22, 4: *propter hanc fabulam Galli eam et semiviri sui corporis supplicio colunt*; Paulinus Nol., *Carm.*, XXXII, 88: *nunc quoque semiviri mysteria turpia plangunt.*

501 ἡμίθηλυς in Anacreon, 11, 2.

502 Catullus, 63, 13; Catullus, 63, 25 *vaga cohors.* Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.*, VI, 515: *rauca cohors;* L. Richard, 'Juvénal et les galles de Cybèle', *RHR*, 169 (1966), 51–67; Lucretius, II, 611: *phrygiasque catervas.*

503 A. Klotz, *Rhein. Mus.*, 80 (1931), 342–56; O. Weinreich, 'Catulls Attisgedicht', *Mel. Cumont*, II (1936), 463–500; V. Bongi, *Catullo, Attis (carme 63)* (Florence, 1944); J. P. Elder, 'Catullus' Attis', *AJPhil.*, 68 (1947), 394–403; L. Herrmann, 'Catulle et les cultes exotiques', *Nouv. Clio*, 6 (1954), 236–46.

504 Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 9 (169a): τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος.

505 σοφός: Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 179. For the symbolical interpretation of Porphyry see Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, VII, 25.

506 This is the thesis of J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques*, 49 ff.

507 Valerius Maximus, VII, 7, 6; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 98.

508 Valerius Maximus, VII, 7: *Genucium neque virorum partibus interponi posse neque mulierum*; cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I, 21, 16: *nec viros se nec feminas faciunt.*

509 *Digest*, XLVIII, 8, 4, 2; *Codex Iust.*, XLII, 1.

510 Ch. Picard, 'Les apprêts de l'ordination du Galle', *RHR*, 102 (1930), 5–12.

511 Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.*, II, 19, 3–5: ποικίλην ἐνδεδυκὼς στολήν; Varro, *Sat.*, 120, IV: *partim venusta muliebri ornati stola* (H. Hepding, *Attis*, 12).

512 Juvenal, *Sat.*, VI, 516: *plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara.*

513 Prudentius, *Perist.*, X, 1013: *mire infulatus, festa vittis tempora / nectens.*

514 Polybius, XXI, 37, 4–7: ἔχοντες προστηθίδια καὶ τύπους. About Anacharsis τύμπανόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα: Herodotus, IV, 76; Dionysius Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, II, 19, 3–5: τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες. For the terminology, see E. Will, *Relief cultuel*, 48–50.

515 *Anthologia Gr.*, VI, 234, 1: Γάλλος ὁ χαιτάεις.

516 Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 243–44: *venit in exemplum furor hic, mollesque ministri/caedunt iactatis vilia membra comis*; Statius, *Theb.*, X, 173: *sanguineosque rotat crines*; Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, VII, 26: *madidis capillis.* These 'capilloni' imitate Attis himself; this is known from his myth as told by Arnobius, V, 7 (= H. Hepding, *Attis*, 40): *Juppiter rogatus ab Agdesti ut Attis revivesceret non sinit. Quod tamen fieri per fatum posset, sine ulla difficultate condonat, ne corpus eius putrescat, crescant ut comae semper.*

517 Firm. Maternus, *De errore prof. rel.*, IV, 1–2 (Pastorino, 48–57): *exornant muliebriter nutritos crines.*

518 Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, VII, 26: *facie dealbata.*

519 *Op. cit.*, VIII, 28: *insana perstrepit turpitudo.*

520 Martial, *Ep.*, V, 41, 3: *Matris entheae Gallus*; XI, 84, 4; *cum furit ad Phrygios enthea turba modos.*

521 Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 22, 40.

522 Juvenal, VI, 517f.

523 Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 16.

524 Maecenas, fr. 6: *latus horreat flagello.*

525 *Le Ore*, 17 Sett, 1961 (no. 435), 24 ff.; F. Sanzari, *I Re penitenti nei settennali riti di Guardia Sanframondo* (Bari, 1961), 62: 'Il numero dei *Battenti a sangue* che parteciparono alla processione penitenziale del 22 agosto 1954 ascese a circa 300'.

526 Recently: L. Budde – R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculptures in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1964), 77 f., no. 125 and pl. 41: provenance unknown.

527 Ch. Picard, 'Le trône vide d'Alexandre', *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII (1964), 1–17.

528 Clemens Alex., *Protr.*, II, 22, 4.

529 G. Sanders, *RAC*, *s.v.* Gallos, cols 1008 ff.

530 P. Lambrechts – R. Bogaert, 'Asclépios, archigalle pessinontien de Cybèle', *Homm. M. Renard*, II = *Coll. Latomus*, 102 (1969), 404–14.

531 Cf. A. D. Nock, 'Eunuchs in Ancient Religion', *ARW*, XXIII (1925), 25–33 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, I (Oxford, 1972), 7–15.

532 *CIL*, VI, 508 from AD 319.

533 C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934), nos 55–61; pp. 241–53 and pls IX–XI. A reprint in Rome, 1960, series *Studia Historica*, 28.

534 I follow here the summary of C. B. Welles, *op. cit.*, 250.

535 Diodorus, XXXVI, 13.

536 Plutarch, *Marius*, 17.

537 J. Carcopino, 'Attideia', *Mél. Arch. et d'Histoire Ec. fr. Rome*, XL (1923), 135–59; 237–324 = *Aspects mystiques*, 49–171. See however A. Momigliano, 'Archigallus', *Riv. fil.*, 60 (1932), 226–30.

538 C. Pietrangeli, 'La statue di un "Gallus" nei

Musei Capitolini', *BCR*, IX (1962), 9 ff. with pls 1–3; W. Helbig, *Führer*, II, 31 ff., no. 1183.

539 Herodotus, IV, 76; Polybius, XXI, 6, 7; cf. Ch. Picard, 'Les apprêts de l'ordination du Galle d'après une terre-cuite d'Odessa', *RHR*, 102 (1930), 5–12.

540 *Idem*, 25 f., no. 1176 with earlier bibliography The relief was found in 1736 between Lanuvium and Genzano.

541 Cf. H. Dessau, *ILS*, II, 5432 from Africa: *coronatus cistifer*.

542 W. Helbig, *Führer*, II, 28, no. 1179.

543 C. Pietrangeli, 'Un busto di Gallus nei Musei Capitolini', *Gli archeologi italiani in onore di Amedeo Maiuri* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1965), 367–78 with figs 1–2. For the veil: H. Freier, *Caput velare* (diss., Tübingen, 1963).

544 G. Calza, 'Una figura ritratto di Archigallo scoperta nella Necropoli del Portus Romae', *Historia*, VI (1932), 221 ff.; *idem*, *La Necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), 205 ff.; M. F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, 13 f.

545 M. F. Squarciapino, *op. cit.*, 14.

546 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 15.

547 Berlin, Antiquarium, Inv. nos 8169; 8170. The best publication is still: C. Blinkenberg, *Archaeologische Studien* (Copenhagen–Leipzig, 1904), 96 f. and fig. 90; see also Ch. Picard, *Mon. Piot*, 49 (1957), 59, fig. 7.

548 R. F. Willets, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London, 1962); R. W. Hutchinson, *Prehistoric Crete*[2] (Harmondsworth, 1965).

549 Vaphio is situated in Laconia. See S. Marinatos, *Kreta und das Mykenische Hellas* (Munich, 1959), pls 178–85.

550 F. Cumont, 'Le taurobole et le culte de Bellone', *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, 6 (1901), 97–110.

551 F. Cumont, *PWRE*, IV *s.v.* criobolium, cols 1718–19.

552 R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*.

553 R. Duthoy, *op. cit.*, 6 f., nos 2–3.

554 R. Duthoy, *op. cit.*, 5, no. 1.

555 *CIL*, X, 1596 = R. Duthoy, *op. cit.*, 29, no. 50.

556 Cybele-Caelestis in a lion's car on the Arch of the Severi in Lepcis Magna: R. Bartoccini, 'L'arco quadrifronte dei Severi a Lepcis (Leptis Magna)', *Africa Italiana*, IV (1931), 32–152; P. Romanelli, *Topografia e archeologia dell'Africa romana* (Turin, 1970), 138 ff., Cybele-Caelestis riding a lion on lamps: J. Deneauve, *Lampes de Carthage* (Paris, 1969), no. 1092.

557 R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 62.

558 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, X, 1006–50 (ed. Lavarenne). A Dutch translation in K. H. E. de Jong, *Oosters – hellenistische Mysteriën* (The Hague, 1949), 85 ff.

559 *Carmen contra paganos* (ed. Baehrens, *PLM*, III, Lipsiae 1881, 286–92), 57–62. See also: G. Manganaro, 'La reazione pagana a Roma nel 408–409 e il poemetto anonimo "contra paganos" ', *Giornale italiano di filologia*, 13 (1960), 210–24; G. Manganaro, 'Il poemetto Anonimo Contra Paganos. Testo, traduzione e commento', *Nuovo Didaskaleion*, II, 1961 [1962], 23–45. A new edition of the *Carmen contra paganos* is in preparation for *EPRO*. See also: J. Wytzes, *Der letzte Kampf des Heidentums in Rom* (*EPRO*, 56; Leiden, 1977).

560 For Ostia, see p. 62. There are other supposed *fossae* at Zadar (R. Duthoy, 'Traces archéologiques de tauroboles à Zadar', *Latomus*, XXVII (1968), 622–29; at Neuss (H. von Petrikovits, *Novaesium, das römische Neuss* (Cologne–Graz, 1957), 38 ff. and fig. 14; H. von Petrikovits, *Das römische Rheinland* (Cologne, 1960), 127 ff. and pl. 12; E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler der orientalisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Deutschland* (*EPRO*, 40; Leiden, 1974); at Aezani (Turkey) near the sanctuary of the Meter Steunene (R. Naumann, 'Das Heiligtum der Meter Steunene bei Aezani', *Istanbuler Forsch.*, 17 (1967), 218–47. P. Lambrechts, 'Het natuurheiligdom van Mètèr Steunènè bij Aezani', *Anamnesis. Gedenkboek Prof. Dr. E. A. Leemans* (Ghent, 1970), 235–53).

561 Firm. Maternus, *De errore prof. rel.*, 27, 8 (p. 117, ed. G. Heuten; p. 78, ed. K. Ziegler; p. 265, ed. A. Pastorino).

562 See n. 552 and R. Duthoy, 'De evolutie van het Taurobolium', *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, XXII (1968), 193–210; J. B. Rutter, 'The Three Phases of the Taurobolium', *Phoenix*, 22 (1968), 226–49.

563 *CIL*, XIII, 1751. See below, p. 135.

564 *CIL*, XIII, 7281. See below, p. 140 f.

565 *CIL*, XII, 4321.

566 Clemens, Alex., *Protr.*, II, 15 (p. 71, ed. Cl. Mondésert) = II, 13 (p. 35, ed. Q. Cataudella).

567 *CIL*, XIII, 510 (Lectoure). See p. 132.

568 R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 74 ff.

569 *Idem*, 106 ff.

570 *CIL*, XIII, 1751 (Lyon).

571 See n. 559 above.

572 *CIL*, VI, 510.

573 *CIL*, XIII, 525. See below, p. 132.

574 R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 85, n. 1.

575 T. D. Barnes, *Gnomon*, 43 (1971), 523 f.

576 *SHA* (Lampridius), *Vita Heliogab.*, 7, 1.

577 Cicero, *in Verrem*, IV, 49. In general H. Stiegler, *Der kleine Pauly s.v. decemviri.*

578 G. Wissowa, *RuK*[2], 510 ff.

579 G. Wissowa, *RuK*[2], 534 ff. Cf. P. Boyancé, 'La science d'un quindécemvir au Ier siècle après J.C.', *REL* (1965), 334–46 = *Etudes sur la religion romaine* (Rome, 1972), 347–58.

580 *CIL*, X, 3698; V. Tran tam Tinh, *Divinités orientales en Campanie*, 109 ff. Cf. Lyon: R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 87.

581 Prudentius, *Perist.*, X, 1011.

582 *Fragmenta Vaticana*, para 148: *is qui in Portu pro salute imperatoris sacrum facit ex vaticinatione archigalli a tutelis excusatur.* Cf. F. Cumont, *Revue de Philologie*, XVII (1893), 196. Cf. *CIL*, VIII, 8203 (= 19981) from Mactaris.

583 *CIL*, III, 2920a.

584 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 239.

585 *CIL*, IX, 981.

586 Benndorf-Schoene, 52 ff., no. 80 and pl. XVII, 2; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 247 and pl. VI; Altmann, *Grabaltäre*, 238 and fig. 191; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford, 1960), 366; M. F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali*, 2; 15.

587 Extensive publication in V. Spinazzola, *Pompei*, 213 ff.

588 Matz-von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. Rom.*, II, 25 f., no. 2245; Reinach, *Rép. Reliefs*, III, 321, 1; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant. s.v. Circus*, col. 1193 and fig. 1528.

589 See p. 134.

590 R. Turcan, 'Cybèle et la déesse Syrienne', *REA*, LXIII (1961), 45–54; *idem*, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 71.

591 *CIL*, VI, 2257.

592 W. Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.*, II, 614, no. 403 and pl. 58 with previous bibliography.

593 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 248 ff.

594 *CIL*, VI, 1779; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 1259; Buecheler II (1), 62–65, no. 111; P. de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*[2] (Paris, 1942), 350; P. Lambrechts, 'Op de grens van heidendom en Christendom', *Med. Kon. Vlaamse Academie* (Letteren), XVII, 3 (1955); A. J. Festugière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne* (Paris, 1967), 322 ff.

595 T. W. J. Nicolaas, *Praetextatus* (Nijmegen, 1940); A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1962), 171 ff., no. 69.

596 Lucretius, *RN*, II, 618.

597 Propertius, IV, 7, 61.

598 R. Moroat, *Notice épigraphique de diverses antiquités gallo-romaines* (Paris, 1887), 93 f.; E. Babelon – J. A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques* (Paris, 1895), 706, no. 2298.

599 Ch. Picard, *CRAI* (1955), 246.

600 M. J. Lagrange, 'Attis et le christianisme', *Revue Biblique*, 16 (1919), 419–80; *idem*, 'Attis ressuscité', *Revue Biblique*, 36 (1927), 561–66; J. Dey, *Παλιγγενεσία* (Münster, 1937); G. Wagner, *Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem von Römer 6, 1–11* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1962). A specimen is G. M. Polestra, *I misteri pagani e il Cristianesimo (I rinnovatori falliti e il Rinnovatore Eterno)* (Brescia, 1943).

601 A. Loisy, *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien*[2] (Paris, 1930); J. Leipoldt, *Von den Mysterien zur Kirche* (Leipzig, 1961).

602 J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion* (abridged edition, London, 1959); *Atys et Osiris*, trans. H. Peyre (Paris, 1926).

603 R. Pettazzoni, *I Misteri* (Bologna, 1924); S. Angus, *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* (London, 1925); F. Cumont, *Religions Orientales*[4]; H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter* (Berlin–Leipzig, 1930); N. Turchi, *Le religioni misteriche del mondo antico* (Milan, 1948); A. J. Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks* (Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1954); K. Prümm, *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristlichen Umwelt* (Rome, 1954); H. W. Obbink, *Cybele, Isis, Mithras, Oosterse godsdiensten in het Romeinse Rijk* (Haarlem, 1965).

604 See in general: M. Simon, 'Histoire des religions, Histoire du Christianisme, Histoire de l'Eglise: réflexions méthodologiques', *Liber Amicorum C. J. Bleeker* (Leiden, 1969), 194–207.

605 See p. 88 ff. In general see also P. Lambrechts, 'Attis: van herdersknaap tot god', *Verh. Kon. Vlaamse Ac.*, XXIV, 46 (1962).

606 H. Hepding, *Attis*, 27.

607 See above, p. 29.

608 Pausanias, VII, 9–12.

609 See above, p. 126.

610 H. Hepding, *Attis*, 8. About the constellation of the Bears, which are called the 'hands of Rhea' see M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* II. *The Mithraeum at Ponza* (*EPRO*, 16; Leiden, 1974), 24.

611 About the coins from Cyzicus with the representation of Attis reclining: M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 32 f.

612 H. Hepding, *Attis*, 9.

613 Theocritus, XX, 40 (= *The Greek Bucolic Poets*,

ed. J. M. Edmonds) (London, 1970), 240: *καὶ τὸ 'Ρέα κλαίεις τὸν βουκόλον.*

614 H. Hepding, *Attis*, 9.

615 H. Chadwick, *JThS*, III (1952), 90 ff. with plates. For Attis *νεόγαμος* see Herodotus, I, 36.

616 Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 5 (H. Hepding, *Attis*, 37 ff.).

617 Diodorus, III, 58–9.

618 Diodorus states that Cybele *ὀρείαν μητέρα προσαγορευθῆναι*; cf. Xanthos, *Schol. ap. Rh.*, 2, 722: *ὀρεία Δημήτηρ*. For other comparisons: P. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft 9, Heft 5 (Halle, 1933), 138 [12].

619 See above, p. 36.

620 See above, p. 35.

621 See above, p. 74.

622 *CIL*, I², p. 260; *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII (II), 237 ff., no. 42 (A. Degrassi). About the festivals: H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 108–49; H. Hepding, *Attis*, 145 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II (Munich, 1950), 617 ff.; P. Lambrechts, 'Les fêtes "phrygiennes" de Cybèle et d'Attis', *Bull. Inst. Belge de Rome*, XXVII (1952), 141–70.

623 For *sanguem:* R. Kühner – C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, I (3) (Hanover, 1955); F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg, 1948), 357 refers to *CIL*, VI, 2104, l. 22 from AD 218.

624 The rustical Calendar, so-called Menologium Colotianum in *CIL*, I², p. 280 = *CIL*, VIII, 2305 = *Inscr. It.*, XIII (II), no. 47.

625 Joh. Lydus, *De Mensibus*, IV, 59: *τῇ πρὸ δεκαμιᾶς Καλενδῶν Ἀπριλίων δένδρον πίτυς παρὰ τῶν δενδροφόρων ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ. τὴν δὲ ἑορτὴν Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο.* See J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques*, 49–171.

626 A. von Domaszewski, 'Magna Mater in Latin Inscriptions', *JRS*, I (1911) 50 ff.

627 See p. 41.

628 See p. 42 f.

629 J. Carcopino, 'Attideia', *MEFR*, 40 (1923), 136 ff.; 237 ff. and above n. 625; F. Cumont, *Religions orientales*, 52 f.

630 P. Lambrechts, *Attis: van herderskenaap tot god* (Brussels, 1962); *idem*, 'Attis en het feest der Hilariën', *Med. Kon. Ned. Ak. Wet., NR*, 30, 9 (Amsterdam, 1967), 225–46.

631 See above, p. 56. My opinion differs largely from P. Lambrechts, 'Attis à Rome', *Mél. G. Smets* (Brussels, 1952), 461–71.

632 P. Romanelli, 'Lo Scavo al tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino e nelle sue adiacenze', *Mon. Ant.*, XLVI (1962), 201–330. Other figurines will be published in *CCCA*.

633 About this type see M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 17 ff.

634 *Idem*, 39 ff.

635 *Contra*: P. Lambrechts, 'Hilariën', *op. cit.*, n. 630 above, especially 246, who however does not convince me, whatever may be the true sense of the Festival of the Hilaria (for an Isiac interpretation: H. Stern, 'La date de la fête d'Isis au mois de Novembre à Rome', *CRAI* (1968), 43–50; M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (*EPRO*, 22; Leiden, 1972), 225–6).

636 Servius, *ad Aen.*, XII, 836: *sacra Matris Deum Romani phrygio more coluerunt.*

637 D. Fishwick, 'The Cannophori and the March Festival of Magna Mater', *TPAPA*, XCVII (1966), 193–202 with previous bibliography.

638 The main text is Julian, *Orat.*, V, 165B; cf. Sallustius, *De diis et mundo*, 4 (p. 7, ed. G. Rochefort): *παρὰ τῷ Γάλλῳ λέγεται εὑρεθῆναι ποταμῷ.*

639 Toulouse, Musée Saint-Raymond: M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 14, n. 6 from Aginnum in Gaul.

640 Raïssa Calza, *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.* S. III, VI (1946), 215 f. and fig. 16; M. F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali*, 12.

641 M. J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, 104 ff., no. 1247 and pl.; *idem*, *Der Kult des Mithras im römischen Germanien* (Stuttgart, 1974).

642 Julian, *Orat.*, V, 168D: *τέμνεται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλου.*

643 Joh. Lydus, *De Mensibus*, IV, 49. Cf. the participation of the *cannophori* in a *taurobolium* at Ostia (*CIL*, XIV, 40).

644 There is discussion about the interpretation of Lydus' words *ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* which have been interpreted either as the *archigallus* or the *pontifex maximus* (D. Fishwick, *op. cit.*, n. 637 above, 197).

645 See above, n. 637.

646 D. Fishwick, *op. cit.*, n. 637 above, 300 gives a full list in chronological order: *CIL*, XIV, 40 and 117 (AD 161–80); *CIL*, XIV, 34 and 35 (AD 169–76); *CIL*, XIV, 116 (AD 195); *CIL*, XIV, 118 (AD 200); *CIL*, XIV, 284 (*c.* AD 200); *CIL*, XIV, 119 (4 April AD 212); *A. Epigr.* (1952), no. 142 (third century AD).

647 Julian, *Orat.*, IV, 173 ff.; Sallustius, *De diis et mundo*, 4; H. Hepding, *Attis*, 155 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *GGR*, II, 618; P. R. Arbesmann, *Das Fasten bei den*

Griechen und Römern (*RGVV*, XXI; Giessen, 1929), 83 ff.; cf. R. Arbesmann, *RAC*, VII *s.v.* Fasten, col. 458; P. Gerlitz, *Das Fasten als Initiationsritus* in *Initiation* (*Suppl. Numen* X) (Leiden, 1965) 271–86.

648 According to Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 6, no use of wine is allowed before entering an Attideum. Fish: see *RAC s.v.* Fisch, cols 999–1000; bread: A. Brelich, 'Offerte e interdizioni alimentari nel culto della Magna Mater a Roma', *Studi e Materiali*, 36 (1965), 26–42; cf. n. 769.

649 Hieronymus, *Adv. Jovin.*, II, 17: *ita nec veris ieiuniis castum Isidis et Cybeles et quorundam ciborum in aeternum abstinentia*; Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 19: *τὰς δὲ Μητρῳακὰς καστείας ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἤγνευεν*; Arnobius, V, 16: *Quid temperatus ab alimonio panis, cui rei dedistis nomen castus? Nonne illius temporis imitatio est quo se numen ab Cereris fruge violentia maeroris abstinuit.*

650 Tertullian, *De ieiunio*, 2; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 119 points to *CIL*, I, 813 (Ceres and Juno Lucina). Cf. R. Arbesmann, *RAC*, VII, *s.v.* Fasten, col. 458.

651 See p. 94.

652 Ch. Picard, 'Les cultes de Cybèle et d'Attis', *Numen*, 4 (1957), 1–23; *idem*, 'Observations archéologiques en Yougoslavie', *CRAI* (1954), 93–5.

653 F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire*, index *s.v.* pin; *idem*, *La stèle du danseur d'Antibes et son décor végétal. Etude sur le symbolisme funéraire des plantes* (Paris, 1942).

654 Firm. Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.*, XXVII, 1: *in media arbore simulacrum iuvenis subligatur.* In the tree at Ostia such a *simulacrum* is clearly visible behind the dying Attis.

655 Arnobius, V, 16: *quid compti violaceis coronis et redimiti arboris ramuli?*

656 Attis' blood changed into violets; hence this colour. For the text of Statius, *Silv.*, II (2), 87–89 about the Synnadic marble: L. Robert, 'Maesta Synnas, Stace, Attis et les monnaies', *Journal des Savants* (1962), 43–55. About the *ἴον πορφυροῦν* or *κυβέλιον* see Ileana Chirassi, *Elementi di culture precereali nei miti e riti greci* (Rome, 1968), 139 ff.

657 J. P. Waltzing, *Etude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains*, I (Louvain, 1895), 15 ff.

658 *Op. cit.*, n. 654, XXII, 1: *per numeros plangitur.*

659 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 124, n. 3.

660 *Idem*, 125.

661 Julian, *Orat.*, V, 168CD and 169D: *περισαλπισμὸς*.

662 H. Graillot, *op. cit.*, n. 659, 126 with the classical texts.

663 See p. 99 f.

664 Arnobius, V, 17: *caedant cum pectoribus lacertos.*

665 See p. 104.

666 *CIL*, XIII, 510, see also p. 132. For a Caius Antonius Eutyches who is *archidendrophorus* at Tomis see n. 982.

667 Val. Flaccus, *Argon.*, VIII, 241: *quis modo tam saevos adytis fluxisse cruores cogitet?*; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 25: *archigallus ille sanctissimus die nono Kalendarum Aprilium, quo sanguinem impurum lacertos quoque castrando libabat.* Cf. the name Messius: J. J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine* (Paris, 1951), 55.

668 *CIL*, XIII, 1751 (Lyons); see also p. 134.

669 Servius, *Ad. Aen.*, IX, 115.

670 Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 21, 10: *catabasi finita simulationeque luctus peracta.*

671 H. Rahner, *Mythes grecs et Mystère chrétien* (Paris, 1954), 35; 136.

672 Firm. Maternus, XXII, 1 (p. 99 ed. G. Heuten): *Nocte quadam simulacrum in lectica supinum ponitur, et per numeros digestis fletibus plangitur. Deinde cum se ficta lamentatione satiaverint, lumen infertur. Tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur, quibus perunctis sacerdos hoc lento murmure susurrat:*

θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου
ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.

673 A. Loisy, *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien*[2] (Paris, 1930), 102; M. P. Nilsson, *GGR*, II, 612 f.

674 M. Simon, '*θάρσει οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος*. Etude de vocabulaire religieux', *RHR*, 1936, 188–206.

675 Damascius, *Vita Isidori* (= H. Hepding, *Attis*, 74).

676 Cf. M. J. Vermaseren – C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (Leiden, 1965), 197.

677 P. Boyancé, 'Sur les mystères phrygiens', *REA* (1935), 161–64; M. P. Nilsson, *GGR*, II, 620 f.

678 H. Hepding, *Attis*, 166 f. considers the *παννυχίς* as belonging to the March festivals.

679 Clemens Alex., *Protr.*, II, 15 (p. 72 ed. C. Mondésert). For this text see also G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), 288 ff.

680 C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1944), 43, 59 ff. Recently J. Ferguson, *Clement of Alexandria* (New York, 1974).

681 Firm. Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.*, XVIII, 1 (p. 85, ed. G. Heuten).

682 M. Dibelius, 'Die Isisweihe bei Apuleius und verwandte Initiations-Riten', *Sb. Heidelb. Ak. Wiss.*

(*Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, IV, 1917) = *Botschaft und Geschichte*, II, Tübingen, 1956), 35–38.

683 Cf. Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 22: *profert (sacerdos) quosdam libros litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos . . . indidem mihi praedicat, quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda*; *Met.*, XI, 23: *secretoque mandatis quibusdam, quae voce meliora sunt.* See the recent editions of J.-C. Fredouille, *Apulée Metamorphoseon Liber XI* (Paris, 1975), 107 f.; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-book* (*EPRO*, 39; Leiden, 1975), 284 f.

684 Cf. Damascius, *Vita Isidori:* ἐδόκουν ὄναρ ὁ Ἄττης γένεσθαι.

685 A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Berlin, 1927³; Darmstadt, 1966), 126 f. who also quotes *CIL*, X, 6423 (Circei) about M. Agileius Faustus dedicating *porticum et cubiculum* to the Mother of the Gods. Cf. Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 17: *intra cubiculum deae recepti.*

686 M. P. Nilsson, *GGR*, II, 621.

687 A. J. Festugière, 'Les mystères de Dionysos', *Rev. Bibl.*, 44 (1935), 381–96.

688 Found at Thurii and dating from the 4th–3rd century BC: *Orphicorum fragmenta*, ed. O. Kern, 106 f. no. 32, c. In general: G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), 277 ff.

689 D. Levi, 'Mors voluntaria', *Berytus* 7/8 (1942–43), 19–55.

690 M. J. Vermaseren – C. C. van Essen, *op. cit.*, n. 676 above, 144 f.

691 A. J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, no. 687 above, 384. For νυμφών = παστός see Margherita Guarducci, 'Valentiniani a Roma', *RM*, 80 (1973), 169–89; especially 174.

692 *Ex visu* in the inscription at Lyons, see p. 135. Cf. Giulia Sfameni-Gasparro, 'La gnosi ermetica come iniziazione e mistero', *Studi e materiali*, 36 (1965), 43–61.

693 For the Isis mysteries: J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-book* (*EPRO*, 39; Leiden, 1975). For the Attis mysteries I point to the inscription of Sabina in AD 377 (*CIL*, VI, 30966 = *IG*, XIV, 1019, see above, p. 50) where she mentions the *σύνβολον εὐαγέων τελετῶν* which consists of the ὄργια Δηοῦς καὶ φοβερὰς Ἑκάτης νύκτας; cf. *CIL*, VI, 30780 = *IG*, XIV, 1020: ὄργια συνρέξαντε θεαῖ παμμήτορι Ῥείηι. For such an imitation of Hades, see the excavations of S. Dakaris in Greece: S. I. Dakaris, *The Antiquity of Epirus. The Acheron Necromanteion Ephyra-Pandosia-Cassope* (Athens, 1973), 10–23.

694 Athenaeus, XI, 476 f.; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), 221 f.

695 G. E. Mylonas, *op. cit.*, 222 and index *s.v.* kernos.

696 R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 99 ff.

697 J. Le Gall, 'Inscription criobolique découverte à Utique', *Karthago*, 9 (1958), 119–27; R. Duthoy, *op. cit.*, 34, no. 68.

698 *CIL*, VIII, 23.400 and 23.401 = R. Duthoy, *op. cit.*, nos 60–61. Dated AD 276–93.

699 *CIL*, VI, 508 = H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4146 = R. Duthoy, *op. cit.*, no. 21 dedicated by *Serapias honesta femina sacrata Deum Matris et Proserpinae.*

700 Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*³ (Cambridge, 1922 = New York, 1959), 588 ff: the Ritual Formularies.

701 Catullus, LXIII, 9: *tympanum tuum, Cybele, tua mater initia.* See in general p. 96 f.

702 Cf. J. Ferron, 'Les statuettes au tympanon des hypogées puniques', *Antiquités Africaines*, III (1969), 11–33, especially 32 f.

703 Recently L. Moretti, *IGUR*, I (Rome, 1968), 111 f., no. 128.

704 P. Boyancé, 'Sur les mystères phrygiens "J'ai mangé dans le tympanon, j'ai bu dans la cymbale" ', *REA*, XXXVII (1935), 161–64 = *Etudes sur la religion romaine* (Rome, 1972), 201–4.

705 *Op. cit.*, 204: 'Le symbole des Mystères ferait ainsi allusion non à une rite de communion et à des aliments réels, mais à une rite de purification musicale et à des aliments imaginaires, qui n'ont de substance que dans les images de hallucination.'

706 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 181.

707 Firm. Maternus, XVIII, 8: *nihil vobis sit cum tympani cibo; salutaris cibi gratiam quaerite et immortale poculum bibite.* Cf. August. *Civ. Dei*, VII, 24; *tympanum, turres, Galli . . . vitam cuiquam pollicentur aeternam.*

708 Cf. G. Daux, *CRAI* 1972 (1973), 484, about the μεσανύκτιον ἄρτου and p. 135 (Lyons).

709 H. Seyrig, *Syria* (1929), 322 ff.

710 H. Usener, 'Milch und Honig', *Rh. Mus.*, LVII (1902), 177 ff.; K. Wyss, *Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* (*RGVV*, XV, 2; Giessen, 1914). For a γαλακτηφόρος in an inscription from Salonica: L. Robert, *Mélanges Bidez* (1934), 804, who regards the altar as playing the Mother Goddess; D. M. Pippidi however interprets the altar as Dionysiac (*BCH*, 88 (1964), 156, n. 2).

711 Sallustius, IV: ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφὴ ὥσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων.

712 In general: H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 131–36; H. Hepding, *Attis*, 107–72; G. Wissowa, *RuK*, 322; P. Lambrechts, 'Les fêtes "phrygiennes" de

Cybèle et d'Attis', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome*, XXVII (1952), 141–70; Lambrechts, 'Attis en het feest der Hilariën', *Med. Kon. Ak. Wet.*, 30, 9 (Amsterdam, 1967); D. Fishwick, 'The Cannophori and the March Festival of Magna Mater', *TPAPA*, XCVII (1966), 193–202.

713 P. Lambrechts, 'Attis: van herdersknaap tot god', *Verh. Kon. Vlaamse Ak. Wet.*, 24 (1962), no. 46; cf. Ch. Picard, *RA*, II (1964), 211–15; F. L. Bastet, *BiOr*, 22 (1965), 201–3. I must stress again the point that it is necessary to use both literary and archaeological sources, however contradictory they often may be. It is by using this method that I have found difficulty with Lambrechts' theories. In his study 'Attis en het feest der Hilariën', p. 24, he reproaches me with having used archaeological sources in order to prove an 'Attis hilaris' where he wants to use literary sources only; on p. 5 of the same study, and dealing with the problem of the existence of Attis in Asia Minor, he uses archaeological finds, disregarding literary sources. A clear example of this way of applying standards is reflected in his statement, 'I have noticed everywhere in Ankara, Izmir, Ephesus, Pergamum, Bursa, Istanbul decennia of Cybele, but I do not remember having even once encountered the name of Attis.' Though important cities they do not represent the whole of Asia Minor. However the author knows the relief at Venice, which is Hellenistic and certainly comes from either Asia Minor or Greece (see above Chap. 3, pl. 57) and the relief (3rd century BC) in Berlin from the Piraeus alluding to the Asiatic Agdistis and Attis. But the latter document is an 'irritating relief' ('Attis en het feest der Hilariën', 4, note). The author also knows the important text of Diodorus, III, 58 (see above, p. 112), but this again is an 'irritating passus' (*op. cit.*, 6). The origin of the *divine* child Attis is to be seen in the figurines at Çatal Hüyük (see Chap. 1), where the Mother *goddess* seated between two panthers gives birth to a child or receives it again into her womb. However, it is true that the number of archaeological monuments of Asia Minor (cf. a standing Attis at Marseilles already in the sixth century BC; note that Marseilles was colonized from Asia Minor) and also of the inscriptions is relatively small (see the forthcoming *CCCA*). For Attis as divine child: Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.*, 8 (p. 60, 13 Rabe): *ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γνήσιον υἱὸν αὐτῆς ὄντα* (quoted by P. Lambrechts, 'Attis', 46). Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, 4, note, claims to have studied the terracottas found in the Republican layers of the Cybele temple on the Palatine (see p. 41 ff.). According to him the many Attis figurines have no connection with the *goddess* Cybele; Attis cannot have been a god in that period, since no representations of Cybele could have been found. I shall publish this deposition in the *CCCA* but I want to stress: *a.* Protome of a lion, alluding to Cybele (without Inv. no.); *b.* Priestess holding a basket or cista in her left hand (Inv. no. 9189); *c.* Protome of a lion (Inv. no. 9347); lion's paws (Inv. no. 9348); *d.* Roaring seated lion (Inv. no. 9351); *e.* Head of Cybele with mural crown (Inv. no. 9338); *f.* Two terracotta figurines of Amor and Psyche (Inv. nos 9318; 9334) who might allude to Attis and Cybele.

In comparison with Attis the allusions to Cybele are rare indeed. But, on the other hand, this also proves the early importance of Attis in the sanctuary itself inside the precincts; in a later period he is given similar importance (1st century AD in the so-called Pythagorean Basilica, see above p. 55 ff.).

714 J. J. Hatt, *Le tombe gallo-romain* (Paris, 1951), Chap. IV, 'Les noms religieux et le syncrétisme gréco-oriental en Gaule romaine', (43–62).

715 SHA, *Aurelian*, I, 1: *hilaribus quibus omnia festa et fieri debere scimus et dici.* About the date of the so-called *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (end of the 4th c. AD) see R. Syme, *The Historia Augusta* (Bonn, 1971), with previous bibliography. Dionysius Areop., *Epist.*, VIII, 6 and S. Maximi, *scholia* in Migne, *PG* IV, 320: *Ἱλάρια, ἑορτὴ ἰδικὴ Ῥωμαίων εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Μητρὸς θεῶν.* Arnobius, *Adv. N.*, VII, 34: *arbitrantur et numina ex rebus hilarioribus gaudere* (beginning of the 4th c. AD).

716 Suetonius, *Otho*, 8: *die, quo cultores deum Matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt.*

717 P. Lambrechts, 'Herdersknaap', *op. cit.*, n. 713 above, 25.

718 F. L. Bastet, *BiOr*, XXII (1965), 202.

719 Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, VIII, 239–42:
sic ubi Mygdonios planctus sacer abluit Almo
laetaque iam Cybele festaeque per oppida taedae,
quis modo tam sacras adytis fluxisse cruores
cogitet? aut ipsi qui iam meminere ministri?

720 P. Lambrechts, 'Hilariën', *op. cit.*, n. 712 above, 15 f.

721 Arrian, *Tactica* (33, 4, ed. A. G. Roos): *καὶ γὰρ ἡ Ῥέα αὐτοῖς ἡ Φρυγία τιμᾶται ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος ἐλθοῦσα, καὶ τὸ πένθος τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἄττῃ Φρύγιον <ὂν> ἐν Ῥώμῃ πενθεῖται, καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν δ' ᾗ Ῥέα, ἐφ' οὗ τοῦ πένθους λήγει, τῶν Φρυγῶν νόμῳ λοῦται.*

722 Cf. P. Lambrechts, 'Herdersknaap', *op. cit.*, n. 713 above, 25; 'Hilariën, *op. cit.*, n. 712 above, 18.

723 Herodian, I, 10, 5–7: *ἦρος ἀρχῇ Μητρὶ θεῶν πομπὴν τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.*

724 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 133.

725 Firm. Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.*, III, 1 (p. 47 ed. G. Heuten): *quem paulo ante sepelierant revixisse iactarunt.* L. Robin, *La pensée grecque et les origines de*

l'esprit scientifique[3] (Paris, 1963), 203, states: 'L'Histoire sacrée (*sc.* of Euhemerus) a été le bréviaire des païens incrédules, puis des adversaires chrétiens du paganisme'.

726 Firm. Maternus, *op. cit.*, III, 2: *amare terram volunt fruges* (note the quibble with *Phryges*), *Attin vero hoc ipsum volunt esse, quod ex frugibus nascitur, poenam autem quam sustinuit hoc volunt esse, quod falce messor maturis frugibus facit* (note the allusion to the eviration). *Mortem ipsius dicunt, quod semina collecta conduntur, vitam rursus quod iacta semina annuis vicibus reconduntur.* This part of the text does not occur in the studies of Lambrechts. He only states 'Hilariën', 22, that in his opinion (*op. cit.*, n. 712) this passus does not appear to have any connection with a belief in a resurrection of Attis, either.

727 Firm. Maternus, *op. cit.*, n. 725, III, 3: *cur hanc simplicitatem seminum ac frugum cum funere, cum morte, cum fastu, cum poena, cum amore iunxerunt? Ut gratias pro renatis frugibus agas ululas, ut gaudeas plangis . . . .*

728 *Dicant mihi quid hoc frugibus profuit, ut fletus suos annuis ululatibus renovent, ut renati funeris calamitatibus ingemescant, quod dicant physica ratione compositum? Lugetis et plangitis, et luctus vestros alia ratione celatis* (*idem*, III, 4). For the expression *physica ratio* also *idem*, II, 6 and the commentary of G. Heuten, 137.

729 Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 168d (116, ed. G. Rochefort): *ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἱλάρια, φασί, καὶ ἑορταί.* For the date: ed. Rochefort, 102.

730 *Op. cit.*, 169c (117, ed. G. Rochefort): *εὐθὺς οὖν ἡ σάλπιγξ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἐκδίδωσι τὸ ἀναλλητικὸν.* Cf. 175b (124, ed. G. Rochefort): *ἀναλλήσεως τε καὶ ἀναδύσεως.*

731 Sallustius, *De diis et mundo*, IV, 10, 10 (8, ed. G. Rochefort). About the date see introduction, p. XXV. The text itself: *ἐφ' οἷς ἱλαρία καὶ στέφανοι καὶ τροὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἷον ἔκπλοος.*

732 Ammianus Marcellinus, 23, 3, 7 (Cf. P. Lambrechts, 'Hilariën', *op. cit.*, n. 712, 20 f.): *Ubi diem sextum kalendas Aprilis, quo Romae Matri deorum pompae celebrantur annuales, et carpentum, quo revehitur simulacrum. Almonis undis abluitur, sacrorum solemnitate prisci ritus explicata, summo per otium capto, exsultans permanet et laetus.*

733 Ammianus Marcellinus, II, 325, *transl.* J. C. Rolfe (ed. Loeb, 1956).

734 For this date: A. Cameron, 'The Date and Identity of Macrobius', *JRS*, 56 (1966), 25–38, who proves that the author Macrobius is to be identified with the *praefectus praetorio* of Italy in AD 430. In preparation: L. Flamant, *Macrobe et le néoplatonisme latin à la fin du quatrième siècle* (*EPRO*, 58; Leiden 19—).

735 Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 21, 10: *praecipuam autem solis in his caerimoniis verti rationem hinc etiam potest colligi, quod, ritu eorum, catabasi finita simulatioeque luctus peracta, celebratur laetitiae exordium a.d. octavum kalendas Apriles. Quem diem hilaria appellant, quo primum tempore sol diem longiorem nocte protendit.*

736 About this date: R. Roques, *RAC*, II *s.v.* Dionysius Areop., cols 1075 ff.; *Der kleine Pauly s.v.* Dionysius, Bd. 2, cols 66 f., nr. 8.

737 Dionysius Areop., *Ep.*, VIII, 6; see n. 715 above.

738 See *Der kleine Pauly s.v.* Damaskios. His *Vita Isidori*, the life of his Neoplatonic teacher, is preserved in Photius, who was a Patriarch of Constantinople and composed his Bibliotheca before AD 858 (*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, *s.v.* Photius, cols 688 f.).

739 Photius, *Bibl.*, 242 = pp. 344b–45a ed. Bekker = H. Hepding, *Attis*, 74; 168: *λέγει δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὅτι τότε τῇ Ἱεραπόλει ἐγκαθευδήσας ἐδόκουν ὄναρ ὁ Ἄττης γενέσθαι, καί μοι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὴν τῶν ἱλαρίων καλουμένων ἑορτήν· ὅπερ ἐδήλου τὴν ἐξ ᾅδου γεγονυῖαν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν.*
The text does not yet occur in the recent edition of R. Henri.

740 P. Lambrechts, 'Hilariën', *op. cit.*, n. 712 above, 12.

741 *Idem.*, 17.

742 Cf. J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques*, 144 ff.; B. Nogara, *Antichi affreschi del Vaticano e del Laterano* (Rome, 1907), 24 f.; H. Marwitz, 'Neues, zur Aldobrandinischen Hochzeit', *Antike und Abendland*, 12 (1966), 97–110.

743 Mommsen, *CIL*, I², 313 and H. Hepding, *Attis*, 168, prefer the *hilaria*; Fishwick (see n. 744) argues for the *lavatio*.

744 The text of Ammianus Marcellinus (text 9) only reports that after the ceremonies of the *lavatio* the emperor went contentedly to bed and has nothing to do with the Hilaria.

745 D. Fishwick, 'The Cannophori and the March Festival of Magna Mater', *TPAPA*, XCVII (1966), 193–202; cf. D. Fishwick, 'Hastiferi', *JRS* (1967), 142–60.

746 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 47 ff. with plates.

747 Cf. the dancing Dionysus on the Parnassus: Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 18, 4 who refers to Euripides (fragment 752 ed. Nauck; Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 1211 ff.):

Διόνυσος ὃς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς
καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασσὸν κάτα
πηδᾷ χορεύων.

There are also many affinities between Attis and Eros.

748 Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 5: *Ἄχρι τοι τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτᾶν τε καὶ χορεύειν τῷ παγκάλῳ τούτῳ ϖκαὶ ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτίσιν ἐμφερεῖ τῷ νοερῷ θεῷ, τῷ* [3]*Αττιδι.*

749 *CIL*, VI, 2265 (Rome): *sodales ballatores Cybelae.*

750 Not to be interpreted however as an Attis (F. L. Bastet, *BABesch*, XLV (1970) 160).

751 The texts in G. Wissowa, *RuK*, 319, n. 7. The earliest is the Menologium Colotianum (*CIL*, VII, 2305; *Inscr. It.*, XIII (II), no. 47). In general H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 136 ff. See n. 224.

752 Martial, III, 47, 1–2:
Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta
Phrygiumque Matris Almo qua lavat ferrum.
See also F. Bömer, *PWRE*, XXI, col. 1949 ff.

753 Livy, XXXVI, 36 cf. Livy, XXIX, 14, 13: *in aedem Victoriae pertulere deam prid. non. Apr. isque dies festus fuit, populusque frequens dona deae tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere, Megalesia appellata.* In general: H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 78 ff.

754 Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, VI, 15 (= I, 188 ed. R. G. Kent): *Megalesia dicta a Graecis, quod ex libris Sibyllinis arcessita ab Attalo rege Pergama; ibi prope murum Megalesion, id est templum eius deae, unde advecta Romam*; cf. Fasti Praenestini ad IV Apr. in *CIL*, I (2), p. 316.

755 Fasti Praenestini ad X Apr.: *M(atri) D(eum) m(agnae) I(daeae) in Pal[atio] quod eo die aedis ei dedicata est.*

756 P. Lambrechts, 'Cybèle, divinité étrangère ou nationale', *Bull. de la Soc. Belge d'anthropologie et de préhistoire*, LXII (1951), 44–60.

757 D. Sabbatucci, 'L'edilità romana', *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, VIII, 6, 3 (1954), 275 ff.

758 Gellius, *N.A.*, XVIII, 2, 11: *quam ob causam patricii Megalensibus mutitare soliti sint, plebes Cerealibus.* Cf. H. Le Bonniec, *Le culte de Cérès à Rome* (Paris, 1958).

759 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 179–87; P. Boyancé, 'Cybèle aux Mégalésies', *Latomus*, XIII (1954), 337–42 = *Etudes sur la religion romaine* (Rome, 1972), 195–200.

760 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 185–86 (cf. 243–44):
ipsa sedens molli comitum cervice feretur
urbis per medias exululata vias.
Cf. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, II, 4: *lectica.*

761 Lucretius, *RN*, II, 626–27; Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 22; Ovid, *Pontica*, II (I), 39:
ante deum matrem cornu tibicen adunco
cum canit, exiguae quis stipis neget?

762 See Chap. 2, p. 66.

763 See Chap. 5, p. 97 f.

764 See Chap. 5, p. 109.

765 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 346.

766 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 367.

767 Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 353; Gellius, *NA*, II, 24, 2: *mutua inter se dominia*; Calendar from Praeneste: *nobilium mutationes cenarum.*

768 Appendix Vergiliana, *Moretum*, 89 ff. About this poem: H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Latin Literature* (London, 1967), 264 f.; M. Schanz – C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*[4], II (Munich, 1967), 89 f.

769 A. Brelich, *Studi e Materiali*, 36 (1965), 26–42. See however Arnobius, V, 16 (n. 649 above).

770 Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, VII, 16: *Matrem magnam eandem Cererem volunt, quam nihil aliud dicunt esse quam terram.* See already in Lucretius, *RN*, II, 610 ff.:
nam variae gentes antiquo more sacrorum
Idaeam vocitant matrem Phrygiasque catervas
dant comites, quia primum ex illis finibus edunt
per terrarum orbes fruges coepisse creari.

771 Cf. H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 80, n. 7.

772 See p. 74.

773 See Chap. 6, p. 141.

774 For this terminology see H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 81, notes 4 and 5.

775 Cicero, *De har. resp.*, 12, 24; 13, 27: *castissimi.*

776 Livy, XXXIV, 54.

777 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 85.

778 Arnobius, IV, 35.

779 The Senate had special seats: Cicero, *De har. resp.*, 12, 24; Valerius Maximus, II, 4, 3. See also J. Colin, 'Les sénateurs et la Mère des dieux aux Megalensia: Lucrèce IV, 79', *Athenaeum*, 32 (1954), 346–55.

780 A. Kirsopp Michels, 'Lucretius, Clodius and Magna Mater', *Mélanges J. Carcopino* (Paris, 1966), 675–79; J. O. Lenaghan, *A Commentary on Cicero's Oration De Haruspicum Responso* (Amsterdam, 1969).

781 Cicero, *De har. resp.*, 11, 24; cf. 13, 27.

CHAPTER 6

782 P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I–III (Oxford, 1972), Chap. V. See also: M. J. Vermaseren, 'Cybele in Egypte', *Festoen* (= *Scripta Archaeologica Groningana*, 6; Groningen-Bussum, 1976), 589–93.

783 L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* = *SIRIS* (*RGVV*, XXVIII; Berlin, 1969); L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (*RGVV*, XXIX; Berlin, 1970);

R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life; London, 1971); F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, I–III (*EPRO*, 26; Leiden, 1973); V. Tran tam Tinh, *Isis lactans* (*EPRO*, 37; Leiden, 1973); W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis* (*EPRO*, 32; Leiden, 1973); G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, *A Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments* (*EPRO*, 36; Leiden, 1973).

784 M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* (*EPRO*, 21; Leiden, 1972); M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (*EPRO*, 22; Leiden, 1972).

785 F. Dunand *op. cit.*, n. 783 above, II, 27 regards the statue as an Isis who under Cybele's influence has been represented with a lion. She also calls attention to the Isis *Μήτηρ θεῶν*. For Delos: Dunand, II, 112; P. Bruneau, *Le sanctuaire et le culte des divinités égyptiennes à Erétrie* (*EPRO*, 45; Leiden, 1975).

786 *CIL*, V, 4002.

787 P. M. Fraser, *op. cit.*, n. 782 above, I, 278.

788 P. Parsons, 'A Greek Satyricon?', *University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin*, 18 (1971), 53–68 about a papyrus of the 2nd c. AD from Oxyrhynchus. According to Parsons' translation the fragment ends as follows: 'And Ioluos is taught by the mystic all the things he had learned (?), and he is a perfect (unmutilated) gallus, having trusted in his friend Nicon. There is nothing better than a clear friend – not wealth nor gold; the mob is an inconsiderable substitute for a true-hearted friend . . .'.

789 *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 220; A. S. F. Gow, 'The Gallus and the Lion', *JHS*, LXXX (1960), 88–93; A. S. F. Gow – D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, II (Cambridge, 1965), 246–48 (commentary to Vol. I, 85 poem XVI); P. M. Fraser, *op. cit.*, n. 782 above, II, 434, n. 731.

790 Varro, *Sat. Menip.*, 364 (p. 775, Lindsay).

791 *CIG*, 4695; P. M. Fraser, *op. cit.*, n. 782 above, II, 432, n. 720; 721.

792 O. Weinreich, *'Θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι'*, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI (1912), 1–68.

793 P. M. Fraser, *op. cit.*, n. 782 above, II, 433, n. 722.

794 P. M. Fraser, *op. cit.*, n. 782 above, II, 433, n. 723.

795 Cairo, Graeco-Roman Museum, Room 39, vitrine 6107, Inv. no. 26. 6. 20. 5. Ch. Picard, 'Sur un naiskos inédit de Cybèle au Musée du Caire', *Mon. Piot*, XLIX (1957), 41–65. A copy is in the Archaeological Institute of the University at Heidelberg. See also K. Schauenburg, *Helios. Archäologisch – mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott* (Berlin, 1955), 21 f. and pl. 8; Ch. Picard, 'Observations sur le culte de Cybèle en Egypte', *RHR*, 151 (1957), 124–26.

796 See p. 79.

797 G. Becatti, 'Un dodekatheon Ostiense e l'Arte di Prassitele', *A.S. Atene*, XX (1942), 85–137; Ch. Picard, 'L'autel circulaire du Dodécathéon d'Ostie et le culte des douze dieux dans l'Empire Romain', *REL*, 23, 1945 (1946), 44–47; Ch. Picard, 'Les "Agoras de Dieux" en Grece', *BSA*, 46 (1951), 132–42.

798 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, pl. XXXI, 2. In general: T. Schreiber, 'Alexandrinische Toreutik', *Abh. Sächs. Gesellschaft* (*Phil. – Hist. Klasse*), XIV (1894).

799 Dorothy Kent Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculptures in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1949), 28, no. 49 and pl. 13; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 56 and pl. XXXVI, 2.

800 A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjûb, Modelle eines hellenistischen Goldschmiedes* (Berlin, 1922); G. Roeder – A. Ippel, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus – Museums zu Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1921).

801 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 30 and pl. XVIII, 2. For Ostia, see p. 62.

802 A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alexandria*, (Rome, 1959) with pls I–IV; Ch. Picard, 'La rencontre sur le mont Dindymon et la passion d'Attis d'après un cratère de bronze hellénistique', *RA* (1960), 63–72; A. Matz, *Gnomon*, 32 (1960), 296 ff.; K. Schefold, *AJA*, 64 (1960), 206 f.

803 P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana* (Rome, 1943); F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris, 1953). In general: P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa* (Rome, 1959); *idem*, *Topografia e archeologia dell'Africa romana* (Turin, 1970).

804 H. Volkmann, *s.v.* Kyrene (*Der kleine Pauly*),

805 E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle Sculture di Cirene* (Rome, 1959), 90 f., nos 232–33 and pl. 120. It is remarkable that the nymph Cyrene should be a mistress of lions (L. Malten, *Kyrene, sagengeschichtliche und historische Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1911); J. Defradas, *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique* (Paris, 1972), 239 ff.).

806 G. Ch. Picard, *Les religions de l'Afrique antique* (Paris, 1954).

807 In general: G. Ch. Picard, *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1959); *idem*, *La Carthage de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1965); *idem*, *Vie et Mort de Carthage* (Paris, 1970); B. H. Warmington, *Carthage*[2] (London, 1969).

808 W. Fauth, *s.v.* Baal (*Der kleine Pauly*) with previous bibliography; M. Leglay, *Saturne romain*, I–II (Paris, 1961–66).

809 J. Deneauve, *Lampes de Carthage* (Paris, 1969), 189, no. 878.

810 D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*[2] (Ancient Peoples and Places; London, 1963), 87 f.

811 See p. 138 f.

812 J. Ferron – M. Pinard, 'Les fouilles de Byrsa', *Cahiers de Byrsa*, IX (1960–61), 77 ff.; Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, II, 4.

813 Ferron – Saumagne, *Africa* (1968), 81 ff. At Lambaesis, too, a Cybele-inscription has been found in the immediate neighbourhood of the Asclepius-temple (*CIL*, VIII, 2633).

814 J. W. Salomonson, *La mosaïque aux chevaux de l'Antiquarium de Carthage* (The Hague, 1965).

815 L. A. Constans, *RA*, I (1916), 247 ff.; *Musée Alaoui, Suppl.*, II (1921), 4, no. 341.

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817 *CIL*, VIII, 1649.

818 R. Duthoy, *op. cit.*, 31, no. 60; 32 nos 61–63.

819 *CIL*, VIII, 11797; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 3325.

820 Reynolds – Ward-Perkins, *IRT*, 87, no. 267. The date is unknown.

821 *Idem*, 92 f., no. 300.

822 *Idem*, 150 f., no. 567; 151, no. 568.

823 In general: M. Leglay, *Les religions orientales dans l'Afrique ancienne d'après les collections du Musée Stephane Gsell* (Algiers, 1956), 18; L. Leschi, *Algérie antique* (Paris, 1952).

824 R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 34, nos 69 and 70.

825 Roscher, *s.v.* Aeracura (*Myth. Lex.*).

826 *CIL*, VIII, 7956; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4117.

827 *CIL*, VIII, 6955.

828 J. Toutain, *BSAF* (1910), 275 ff.

829 *CIL*, VIII, 5707.

830 A. Ballu – R. Cagnat, *Musée de Timgad* (Paris, 1903), 9 f. and pl. III, 6.

831 *Idem*, 11.

832 *CIL*, VIII, 2633.

833 *CIL*, VIII, 2230.

834 In general: J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc antique*[8] (Paris, 1943).

835 *CIL*, VIII, 8457 = 20343; H. Graillot, 'Les dieux tout – puissants. Cybèle et Attis et leur culte dans l'Afrique du Nord', *RA* (S.4), III (1904), 322–53.

836 *CIL*, VIII, 4846; R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 35, no. 73.

837 *CIL*, VIII, 9401 = H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4167.

838 Leglay, *Rel. or. Afrique*, 16; 18.

839 *Ann. ep.* (1957), 169, no. 63.

840 Recently: M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 49 and pl. XXXI, 1; A. Toynbee, ed., *The Crucible of Christianity* (London, 1969), 247. Rabat, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. B 85.

841 Boube – Picot, *Bronzes Maroc*, 223, no. 246 with pls 180–81.

842 G. Ch. Picard, *La Carthage de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1965), 126.

843 A. García y Bellido, *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine* (*EPRO*, 5; Leiden, 1967), 42–63.

844 *CIL*, II, 3706.

845 García y Bellido, 46 ff.

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848 *Année épigraphique* (1956), 255.

849 A. Balil, 'Mosaicos circenses di Barcelona y Gerona', *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 101 (1962), 257–351.

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854 E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, I, 48–53. See also R. Turcan, *Les religions orientales de l'Asie dans la Vallée du Rhône* (*EPRO*, 30; Leiden, 1972), 48–50.

855 S. Reinach, 'Statues archaïques de Cybèle découvertes à Cymé', *BCH*, XIII (1889), 545 ff.; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, II, 222 ff., nos 520–22.

856 E. Langlotz, see n. 852 above, 37; cf. *idem*, 'Eine Kybelestatuette im Museo Torlonia', *RA*, 1968 (= *Etudes de sculpture antique offertes à Jean Charbonneaux*), 93–100.

857 R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 49.

858 See the fundamental monograph by R.

Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (*EPRO*, 35; Leiden, 1973).

859 E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, I, no. 49, 15 with fig. See also n. 856.

860 Ch. Picard, *Essays in Memory of K. Lehmann* (New York, 1964), 264, n. 25.

861 E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, I, no. 49, 11 with fig.: 'femme coiffée du klaft'. Cf. F. Benoît, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule* (Aix-en-Provence, 1965), pl. 1, 7. Marseille, Musée Borély, Inv. no. 1540.

862 Connections between the *dendrophori* of Marseilles and Riez in Roman times: *CIL*, XII, 411; R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie* 56.

863 *CIL*, XII, 4321; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4119.

864 See E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, I, nos 622 ff.; cf. M. Renard, *Latomus*, XI (1952), 60 f.

865 *CIL*, XIII, 504–25; E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions antiques de Lectoure* (Auch – Paris, 1892); R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 44 ff., nos 103–23 (who omits *CIL*, XIII, 510); R. Etienne, 'La chronologie des autels tauroboliques de Lectoure', *Actes des XII^me^ et XV^me^ Congres d'études régionales de la Societé archéologique de Gers*, 1959 (1966), 35–42.

866 R. Turcan, *Les religions de L'Asie*, 127–31: Structure et fonction des autels tauroboliques.

867 *CIL*, XIII, 510 = H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4127.

868 See pp. 115; 134.

869 See the inscriptions of Pax Iulia in Spain (p. 131), of Mainz in Germany (p. 140 f.) and Ostia (*CIL*, XIV, 324), the latter in AD 203.

870 Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitaine, Inv. no. 60. 2. 107. L. Valensi, *Bordeaux capitale de l'Aquitaine* (Brussels, 1968), 85 f., no. 46.

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872 Two examples: E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, II, nos 1170–71 with figs.

873 R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* (Bordeaux, 1962), 171 and pl. XIII; L. Valensi, *op. cit.*, n. 870, 39, no. 9 and fig.

874 *CIL*, XIII, 573; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4157; R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 49, no. 124.

875 E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, II, no. 1267 with figs; Ch. Picard, *Numen*, IV (1957), 12 ff. and pl. I.

876 *CIL*, XIII, 11042.

877 M. Leglay, *Der kleine Pauly*, II *s.v.* Glanum, col. 806 with bibliography; H. Rolland, *Glanum – Saint Rémy de Provence* (Paris, 1960).

878 R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 57.

879 Ch. Picard, 'Les religions étrangères à Glanum: le quartier cultuel hellénistique', *RACentre*, II (1963), 179–202; R. Turcan, *Les Religions de l'Asie*, 58–61.

880 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 35 and pl. XXI, 2; F. Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* (Paris, 1969), fig. 140; P. Bruneau, *BCH*, 95 (1971), 486 and fig. 48.

881 M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, pl. XXI, 1 and above p. 94.

882 H. Rolland, 'Inscriptions antiques de Glanum', *Gallia*, III (1944), 177, no. 21.

883 E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, XII, no. 7865 and pl. XI.

884 H. Rolland, *op. cit.*, n. 882 above, no. 20. For the name Eutychia compare the gallus Eutyches in Lectoure (see p. 115).

885 *Idem*, no. 19. Another *ministra* Caiena Attice in Arles: E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851 above, I, no. 137. For these cognomina: J. J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine* (Paris, 1951), 35 ff.

886 A. Greifenhagen in *RAC*, 2, *s.v.* Bona Dea, cols 508–10; J. Gagé, *Matronalia. Essai sur les dévotions et les organisations cultuelles des femmes dans l'ancienne Rome* (Coll. Latomus LX, Brussels, 1963).

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888 Ch. Picard, 'Le théâtre des mystères de Cybèle – Attis à Vienne (Isère), et les théâtres pour représentations sacrées à travers le monde méditerranéen', *CRAI* (1955), 229–49; A. Pelletier, 'Les fouilles du "Temple de Cybèle" à Vienne', *RA*, I (1966), 113–50; *idem*, 'Le Sanctuaire de Cybele', *Archeologia*, 88 (1975), 39–43. In preparation M. Leglay – A. Pelletier, *Le sanctuaire métroaque de Vienne* (*EPRO*; Leiden).

889 See the discussion in R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 70 f.

890 E. Will, *La sculpture romaine au Musée Lapidaire de Vienne* (Vienne, 1952), 58, no. 115 and pl. VIII.

891 Ch. Picard, 'Un sacrifice métroaque à Vienne', *RA* (S.6), XXVI (1946), 159–62.

892 R. Turcan, 'Cybèle et la déesse syrienne', *REA*, 63 (1961), 45–54; R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 70 and pl. XXII.

893 P. Wuilleumier, *Lyon métropole des Gaules* (Paris, 1953); A. Audin, *Essai sur la topographie de Lyon* (Lyon, 1959); *idem*, *Lyon miroir de Rome dans les Gaules* (Paris, 1965); M. Leglay, *Der kleine Pauly*, III, *s.v.* Lugdunum, cols 770 f. and *Archeologia* 50, Sept. 1972: *Lyon capitale archéologique.*

894 Seneca, *Ep.*, 91.

895 Suetonius, *Claudius*, 2.

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897 *CIL*, XIII, 1751; E. Espérandieu, *op. cit.*, n. 851, III, no. 1737; R. Duthoy, *Taurobolium*, 50, no. 126; R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 83 and pl. XXVI, 2 and his discussion of the word *mesonyctium* on pp. 124–27. For a translation: M. Leglay, *La religion romaine* (Paris, 1971), 283 f.

898 See p. 132.

899 See p. 140 f.

900 See the discussion in R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie*, 85 ff., who however accepts the removal of the *vires* from the Phrygianum in Rome to Lyon.

901 *Idem*, 84, considers the word *taurobolio* as the antecedent of *cuius*.

902 Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 23, 7.

903 G. Daux, 'Trois inscriptions de la Grèce du Nord', *CRAI* (1973), 478–87; cf. W. Ramsay, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces* (London, 1906), 319, nr 2: [ἐτεκμόρευσαν σ]είτῳ διπύρῳ; A. J. Reinach, 'Le "pain Galate" ', *Revue celtique*, 28 (1907), 230 ff.; W. Ramsay, 'The tekmoreian guest-friends', *JHS*, 32 (1912), 154 ff.; W. Schepelern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygische Kulte* (Tübingen, 1929), 120 f.

904 R. Arbesmann, *Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern* (*RGVV*, 21; Giessen, 1929), 61 f.; 85 and this book p. 115. See also *RAC*, VII *s.v.* Fasten, cols 447–93 (R. Arbesmann).

905 *CIL*, XIII, 1753.

906 *CIL*, XIII, 1754; M. Leglay, *La religion romaine* (Paris, 1971), 284, no. 2.

907 A. Audin, *op. cit.*, no. 893, 147 ff.; 172 ff. and plan on p. 101.

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910 Audin, *op. cit.*, n. 893, 180.

911 For these feasts, see below, Chap. 5, p. 113 ff.

912 Harris, *Oriental Cults*, 96 ff.

913 *Idem*, 100 and pl. XX, 1.

914 *Idem*, 101 f.

915 *Idem*, 98; R. G. Collingwood – R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. I. *Inscriptions on Stone* (Oxford, 1965), 374, no. 1135 with bibliography.

916 See Chap. 3, p. 75 f. (Ostia).

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920 M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues* (Cambridge, 1950), 119 f.

921 V. Tran tam Tinh, *Divinités orientales en Campanie*, 199 ff.: *una quae es omnia.*

922 Ovid *Met.*, I, 90: *sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.*

923 In general: A. Kleingünther, 'Prootos Heuretes. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung', *Philologus* (*Suppl. B.*, XXVI, 1) (1933), 1–156.

924 E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler der orientalisch – syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Deutschland* (*EPRO*, 40; Leiden, 1974).

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926 He is known from a terracotta found in Mainz: E. Neeb, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, XXII (1927), 31 and fig. 14.

927 Most recently: *Römer am Rhein. Ausstellung des römisch – germanischen Museums Köln* (1967), 308, Nr. E 175; Cologne, Inv. no. 3180.

928 *Op. cit.*, 309, Nr E 176; Inv. no. 2927.

929 M. J. Vermaseren, 'La pénétration des cultes orientaux dans les Pays-Bas romains', *RAEst*, V (1954), 105–32; 130, fig. 55.

930 *Idem*, 131 f. with fig. 56.

931 R. Schindler, *Landesmuseum Trier. Führer durch die vorgeschichtliche und römische Abteilung* (Trier, 1970), 40 and fig. 109.

932 M. Ihm in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, II, 2, *s.v.* Matres, Matronae, cols 2464–80; F. M. H. Heichelheim, *PWRE*, XIV, *s.v.* Matres, cols 2213–50; K. Ziegler, *Der kleine Pauly*, III, *s.v.* Matres, col. 1081.

933 In Pesch (Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. no. 28827), Augst and Hofstade: S. J. de Laet, 'Een Gallo-Romeins Heiligdom op de steenberg

te Hofstade bij Aalst (Oostvlaanderen)', *Cultureel Jaarboek van de Provincie Oostvlaanderen* (1950), 269–314; S. J. de Laet, 'Le fanum de Hofstade – lez – Alost et le culte de la déesse gauloise de la fecondité', *Latomus*, XI (1952), 45 ff.

934 For the two temples at Domburg and Colijnsplaat, see A. Hondius – Crone, *The Temple of Nehalennia at Domburg* (Amsterdam, 1955); *Deae Nehalenniae. Gids bij de Tentoonstelling Nehalennia* (Middelburg, 1971). Two recent studies: H. Wagenvoort, 'Nehalennia and the Souls of the Dead', *Mnemosyne* (S. IV), XXIV (1971), 273–92; O. V. Henkel, 'De hond van Nehalennia', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 27 (1973), 201–9 who fails to mention the studies of H. Scholtz, *Der Hund in der griechisch-römischen Magie und Religion* (Berlin, 1937) and G. Gourevitch, 'Le chien, de la thérapeutique populaire aux cultes sanitaires', *Mél. Ec. fr. Rome*, LXXX (1968), 247–81.

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936 *CIL*, XIII, 7458.

937 *CIL*, XIII, 7317. Recently D. Fishwick, 'Hastiferi', *JRS*, 57 (1967), 142–60, a very substantial study.

938 *CIL*, XIII, 7281.

939 *CIL*, XIII, 7250.

940 *CIL*, XIII, 6723.

941 *CIL*, XIII, 6664; *deo Attini*.

942 E. Espérandieu, *Recueil Germanie*, no. 3 with fig.; H. Gropengieszer, *Das Mannheimer Schloss und seine Sammlungen* (Mannheim, 1940), pl. opposite p. 77.

943 E. Gose, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 27 (1964), 148 ff. with pls; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 52 and pl. XXXIV.

944 J. Fitz, *Les Syriens à Intercisa* (Coll. Latomus 122; Brussels, 1972).

945 G. Kazarow, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (*Diss. Pann.*, II, 14; Budapest, 1938); Aleksandrina Cermanović-Kuzmanović, 'Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Heros in Jugoslavien und das Problem des thrakischen Reitergottes', *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*, IV (1963), 31–57 with previous bibliography. A new *Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii* is in preparation by an international team of scholars and will be published in the *EPRO*.

946 D. Tudor, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuvinorum* (*CMRED*), I (*EPRO*, 13; Leiden, 1969); cf. T. Nagy, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 22 (1970), 447; E. L. Ochsenschlager, 'Lead Plaques of the Danubian Horsemen Type at Sirmium', *Sirmium*, II, 51–66.

947 R. Laur – Belart, *Führer durch Augusta Raurica* (Basle, 1948), 141: Das Cybeleheiligtum auf der Flühweghalde.

948 *CIL*, III, 5194; Swoboda, *BJ* 169 (1969), 200, no. 8.

949 J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, I (2) (Paris, 1911), 75, n. 11.

950 R. Fleischer, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Oesterreich* (Mainz, 1967), 85 f., no. 101 and pl. 57 with previous bibliography.

951 *Op. cit.*, 104 and pl. 72. Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Inv. no. 1679.

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953 Lj. B. Popović – D. Mano Zisi – M. Veličković – B. Jeličić, *Antička Bronza u Jugoslavyi* (*Greek, Roman and early-Christian Bronzes in Yugoslavia*) (Belgrade, 1969), 100, no. 129 and fig.

954 *CIL*, III, 1952, cf. S. 8567; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4106.

955 Cf. the two bronze shanks found in the bed of the Thames near London: Harris, *Oriental Cults*, 109–12.

956 *CIL*, III, 13903.

957 M. J. Vermaseren, 'Kybele und Attis mit dem Fisch', *In Memoriam Constantini Daicoviciu* (Cluj, 1974), 401–8.

958 See n. 952 above.

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961 Ljubica Zotović, *Les cultes orientaux sur le territoire de la Mésie Supérieure* (*EPRO*, 7; Leiden, 1966), 102, no. 45; no. 46 seems to be a Serapis instead of a Cybele.

962 Ljubica Zotović, *Le Mithraïsme sur le territoire de la Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1973).

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Noricum und Pannonien (Vienna, 1923), 215; Erna Diez, *JÖAI*, XLVI (1961–63), 52; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 37.

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966 Brunšmid, *Vjesnik*, XIII (1914), 230 f., no. 55; Popović, *Ant. Bronza*, 112, no. 176 with fig.

967 M. Abramić, *Poetovio. Führer durch die Denkmäler der römischen Stadt* (Vienna, 1925), 25 and fig. 5; H. Kenner, *JÖAI*, 43 (1958), 62; Swoboda, *BJ*, 169 (1969), 200 f., no. 10 and fig. 3.

968 *CIL*, III, 14354[8]; *CIL*, III, 10764.

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971 R. Fleischer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten aus Carnuntum* (Graz–Cologne, 1966), 33, no. 46 and fig.; 25, no. 32 with fig.; cf. M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 55 and pl. XXXVI, 1.

972 *CIL*, III, 3471.

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978 *CIL*, III, 1101.

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980 *SEG*, XXIV (1969), 322 f., no. 1112 with previous bibliography.

981 I. Stoian, *Tomitana. Contribuţii epigrafice la istoria cetăţii Tomis* (Bucharest, 1962), 78 ff., no. 2 with pls XII–XIV and previous bibliography.

982 *CIL*, III, 763 and p. 997; H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4116; recently Stoian, *Tomitana*, 216, no. 17.

983 *CIL*, III, 764 = H. Dessau, *ILS*, 4103; Stoian, *Tomitana*, 50.

984 In general G. Bordenache, 'Antichità greche e romane nel nuovo Museo di Mangalia', *Dacia* (N.S.), IV (1960), 489–509.

985 Mihailov, *IGBR*, I[2] (1970), 140, no. 81 and fig. 986 *Idem*, *IGBR*, II, 187, no. 805 with fig. and no. 806.

987 *Idem*, *IGBR*, IV, 48, no. 1938 with fig.

988 *Idem*, *IGBR*, III (1), 244, no. 1507 with fig.

989 See Chap. 5.

990 F. Bömer, *Rom und Troia* (Baden-Baden, 1951).

991 Juvenal, *Sat.*, III, 62–65:
Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum
vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas.
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992 Cicero, *De legibus*, II, 14, 35.

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FIGURES

1 Goddess with lions on a seal from Crete. After H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1925), fig. 66.

2 Clay sealing from temple repository, Crete. After V. E. G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals* (Oxford, 1960), 42, fig. 63.

3 Lentoid from Mycenae, preserved at Athens. From *Kadmos* 8 (1969), 94, fig. 5a.

4 Drawing of the earliest terracotta figure of Cybele. Çatal Hüyük, Turkey. Drawing by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

5 The same, viewed from the front.

6 Map. Cybele in the second millennium BC in Asia Minor. After E. Laroche 'Koubaba', *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960).

7 Map. Cybele in the first millennium BC in Asia Minor. After E. Laroche, 'Koubaba'.

8 The Midas-Monument of Yazilikaya. After A. Gabriel, *Phrygie* IV, 55, fig. 30.

9 The name of Cybele in Lydian dialect. Before 570 BC. Found at Sardis. From *Kadmos* 8 (1969), 158, fig. 1.

10 Various forms of the name Kubaba in Hittite alphabet (clasp – square – dove – vase). After H. T. Bossert, *Šantaš und Kupapa* (Leipzig, 1932), 32, fig. 19.

11 The name of Kubaba in Aramaic alphabet (to be read from right to left) on the stele from Ördek-Burnu (9th or 10th century BC). After H. T. Bossert, *Šantaš und Kupapa* (Leipzig, 1932), 35, n. 2 and fig. 20.

12 The name of Cybele on a sherd from the end of the 6th century BC, found at Locri Epizefiri in southern Italy. After *Klio* 52 (1970), 134.

13 Cybele's journey from Pergamum to Rome. Map drawn by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

14 The situation of the temple of Cybele (*aedes Magnae Matris*) on the Palatine. Drawing by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

15 The situation of the Basilica Hilariana on the Coelius in Rome. Drawing by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

16 Mosaic with a representation of the evil eye in the Basilica Hilariana in Rome. Drawing by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

17 The site of the Phrygianum near St Peter's in Rome. Drawing by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

18 Cernus. Drawing by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

19 Cybele riding a lion. After Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, 664A.

20 A plan of the ceiling of the *hypogaeum* near the Porta Maggiore, showing the arrangement of the mythological scenes.

21 Centres of the Cybele cult near Rome. After J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919).

22 Attis and Cybele on a *taurobolium*-altar of the Phrygianum in the Vatican. After F. Creuzer, *Symb. und Mythologie*, pl. II, 2.

23 The site of the temple of Cybele in the triangular *campus* at Ostia.

24 The Attis shrine and surrounding buildings in Ostia.

25 Pompeii and its surroundings. Drawing by Franca Derksen-Janssens.

26 Reconstruction of the entrance of the temple of Prinias. After Charles Picard, *Manuel* I, 448, fig. 127.

27 Marble statue of Cybele between two lions. After Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, 664B.

28 Cybele and Attis on a coin of Faustina. After Millin, *Gall. Myth.* IV, 15 = Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* II (1) *col.* 1647.

29 Design of an Attis statue in the Vatican Museums. After Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, 664 J.

30 The *taurobolium*. From Prudentius' description after K. H. E. de Jong, *Oosters-hellenistische Mysteriën* (The Hague, 1949), 86.

31 The situation of the Campus Magnae Matris in Lyons. After Amable Audin, *Lyon, miroir de Rome dans les Gaules* (Paris, 1965), 101.

32 Situation of the temple of Cybele in Lyons. After *Archaeologia* 50, 1972, p. 34.

PLATES

1 The Goddess Hera between two lions. Relief on the neck of a pithos from Thebes. Beginning of the 7th century BC. Athens, National Museum.

2 Goddess of Rhyzonia (Prinias) in Crete, 625–600 BC. After F. Matz, *Geschichte der Griechischen Kunst* I (Frankfurt, 1949).

3 The Lion Gate at Mycenae.

4 The Lion-Goddess. Hydria from Meikirch-Grächwil, Switzerland, 6th century BC. Historiches Museum, Berne.

5 The earliest known figurine of Cybele. Çatal Hüyük, Turkey. Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

6 Rock relief representing the meeting of the Weather god of the Heavens with his wife Hepatu. Yazilikaya. After E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962), pl. 76, *supra*.

7 The Goddess Kubaba on a basalt relief from Carchemish, 1050–850 BC.. Ankara, Archaeological Museum. After E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962), pl. 115.

8 Rock monument at the east of Midas City. After *JHS*, III (1882), fig. 9.

9 Rock monument at Arslan Kaya. After E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962), fig. 52.

10 Goddess from the post-Hittite citadel, Büyük Kale, at Boğazköy, Turkey.

11 Road leading to the fortified acropolis of Pergamum.

12 Ptolemaic sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Mamurt-Kaleh near Pergamum. After A. Conze, P. Schatzmann, 'Mamurt Kaleh', *JdI* Erg. H. 9. (Berlin, 1911).

13 Discovery of fragments of a statue of Cybele in Yürükler, Bithynia.

14 Limestone relief from Bolu in Bithynia. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.

15 Relief from Cyzicus. Paris, Louvre.

16 White marble relief, probably from Kula in Lydia. Paris, Louvre.

17 Relief probably from Smyrna. Leningrad, Hermitage. After Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff* II (Berlin, 1887), pl. 137.

18 The west side of the Agora from the south-east in the 2nd century AD. After Homer A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide* (1962), fig. 8.

19 Metroon built in the Hellenistic period.

20 Statue of Cybele. Athens, Olympieion.

21 Cybele enthroned. Discovered in 1971, at Moschaton in the Piraeus. Piraeus Archaeological Museum. After *AAA* IV, 1971, 140–46, pl. I.

22 Marble bust of Melitine, priestess in the Metroon of the Piraeus. Paris, Louvre.

23 Relief depicting Cybele with Hecate and Hermes from the Piraeus. Beginning of the 4th century BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

24 Relief depicting (Cybele) Agdistis and Attis. About 300 BC. Found in the Piraeus. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

25 Cybele in a chariot drawn by lions, 550–525 BC. Delphi, Treasury of Siphnos, now in the museum.

26 Detail of Cybele in the lion chariot.

27 Relief of the twelve gods from Lebadea, Athens, National Museum. After *JOAI* 31, 1939. 59 ff; fig. 23.

28 Relief of the twelve gods from Thasos. Thasos, Museum.

29 Head of a statue of Cybele in Greek marble. Rome, Villa Doria Panfili.

30 The story of Claudia Quinta. Altar dedicated by Claudia Syntyche. Rome, Capitoline Museum.

31 The Metroon on the Palatine. After a drawing by Giacomo Lauro, Jacobus Laurus Romanus, *Splendor Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1593; 1608), pl. 39.

32 The Metroon on the Palatine on a relief of the *Ara Pietatis*.

33 Pediment of the Metroon on the Palatine. Fragment of a relief. Rome, Villa Medici.

34 Terracotta figurine of Attis, found in the Metroon on the Palatine and preserved there in the museum.

35 Portrait of Manius Publicius Hilarus, a dealer in pearls and owner of the Basilica Hilariana.

36 Drawing by Pirro Ligorio of an altar found in the Vatican. After E. Mandowski – C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities* (London, 1963), pl. 62.

37 The *spina* of the Circus Maximus with the statue of Cybele. Mosaic floor in the Roman villa at Piazza Armerina, Sicily.

38 Gem depicting Cybele riding a lion. Cornaline 1:3. The Hague, Royal Numismatic Cabinet.

39 One of four mourning Attis figures in stucco on the ceiling of the *hypogaeum* near Porta Maggiore.

40 Winged Attis with burning torch brings Ganymede to heaven. Stucco panel in the *hypogaeum* near Porta Maggiore. 1st century AD.

41 The high priestess Laberia Felicla. 1st century AD. Vatican Museums.

42 Back of an altar of Cornelius Scipio Orfitus found on the Via Appia. End of the 3rd century AD.

Rome, Villa Albani. After P. Arndt – W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* (Munich, 1893–1940), no. 3599.

43 Entrance to the Attis shrine in Ostia.

44 Reclining Attis from Ostia. Vatican, Museo Paolino.

45 *Fossa sanguinis* in the Porta Laurentina at Ostia.

46 Fresco depicting procession in honour of Cybele. Via dell' Abbondanza, Pompeii.

47 Attis and Amor, fresco in the Casa di Pinario Cereale, Pompeii.

48 Hercules and Telephos, fresco from Herculaneum. Naples, National Museum.

49 Terracotta mould with representation of Attis (Tarentum?). Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

50 Apulian lekythos probably by the Darius-painter, *c.* 330–300 B. C. Harvard, Fogg Art Museum.

51 Engraving depicting the so-called Santoni at Acrae. From L. Bernabò Brea, *Akrai*, (Catania, 1952), fig. 29a.

52 View of the rock sanctuary of Cybele, 3rd century BC on the Colle Orbo, Acrae, Sicily.

53 Silver dish from Parabiago. Milan, Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Lombardia.

54 Terracotta figurine said to be from Athens. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum.

55 Marble statue of Cybele. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

56 Relief depicting Cybele from an Athenian workshop. Amsterdam, private collection.

57 Relief of uncertain provenance depicting Cybele and Attis with a mother and daughter, 3rd or 2nd century BC. Venice, Archaeological Museum.

58 The cameo known as the *Gemma Augustea*, depicting the apotheosis of the emperor Augustus. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

59 Detail of a marble base at Sorrento depicting Cybele and Roman deities. Sorrento, Museo Correale.

60 Sarcophagus from Saint-Médard d'Eyran depicting the legend of Dionysus and Ariadne. Paris, Louvre.

61 Sarcophagus from Sidon, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

62 Head in limestone, possibly Attis. Munich, Antiquarium. After P. Arndt – W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* (Munich, 1893–1940), no. 960.

63 Marble relief from Glanum depicting the dying Attis. Saint-Rémy de Provence, Museum.

64 Marble funeral urn of the archigallus M. Modius Maximus at Ostia.

65 Statue of a gallus. Rome, Capitoline Museum.

66 Lid of a sarcophagus of an archigallus from Porto. Ostia, Antiquarium.

67 Detail of an archigallus. Ostia, Antiquarium.

68 Archigallus adoring Attis. Porto, Necropolis. Ostia, Antiquarium.

69 *Taurobolium* altar from Lectoure.

70 Right side of altar depicting head of Attis. Périgueux, Musée de Perigord.

71 Plaque in gypsum from Egypt depicting Cybele with Hermes and Hecate and preserved in Cairo. Copy in the Archaeological Institute of the University of Heidelberg.

72 Two niches with cult-statues of Baal (Saturnus) and Astarte-Cybele. Sousse, Archaeological Museum.

73 Four tree-bearers (*dendrophori*). Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitanie.

74 Cybele riding a lion. Cologne, Rheinisch-Germanisches Museum.

75 Marble relief from the Rhine near Düsseldorf. Mainz, Reiss Museum.

76 Detail of a bronze Attis from Trier, now in the Provincial Museum.

77 Marble relief depicting Cybele from Tomis. Bucharest, National Museum.

78 Attis kneeling after the emasculation. Bronze found at Muć (Andetrium). Split, Archeological Museum. After L. B. Popović et. al., *Antička Bronza u Jugoslavyi* (Belgrade, 1969), 160, no. 129.

79 Tapestry from the first half of the 14th century AD. Berne, Historisches Museum.

80 Dutch 'Flinterbak' of about 1900 (used to preserve long matches for the hearth).

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Index

Artifacts are indexed according to their provenance

Achilles 52, 56
Adrastus the Phrygian 89–90, 92
Adriani, A. 128
Aedesius, Sextilius Agesilaus, inscription of 106
Aeneid (Vergil) 84–6
Africa, North, Cybele artifacts in 104, 128–30; *pl. 72*
Africanus, P. Scipio 67
Afyonkarahisar 20
Agdistis (Cybele) 35, 90–1, 95, 112; *pl. 24*
Agoracritus 34, 72
Agrai, Metroon at 35
Akurgal 20
Alcestis, myth of 62–3, 76
Alcibiades 33
Alexander the Great 27, 38, 41, 126
Alexandria, bronze vase at 94
Alexandrian poetry 111, 126
Alexipharmaca (Nicander) 111
Ambrose, Bishop of Milan 47, 180
Amphipolis, statuettes from 114
Anacharsis 20, 28–9
Announa (Thibilis) 129
Anthus, L. Lartius, relief of 100
Antoninus Pius, emperor 45–6, 53, 58, 62, 75, 86, 98, 113, 115, 122, 128, 134–5, 140, 179–80
Aphrodisias, sarcophagus from 28
Aphrodite 10, 37
Aphrodite Pontia 29
Apollo 14, 19, 27, 29, 76–7, 80, 178–9
Apollodorus, Petronius 49–50
Appia, Via, Cybele artifacts in 58
Apuleius 10, 139
Apulian vases from 67; *pl. 50*
Ara Pacis Augustae 85
archigallus (high priest) 28–9, 63, 96–101, 108, 113, 179; *pls 66, 67, 68*
Aristode 32
Arles (Arelate) 133
Arnobius 181
Arrian 33, 72, 120, 122
Arslan Kaya monument 15, 20; *pl. 9*
Asclepius 36, 81–2, 128
Asclepius, archigallus 98
Asia Minor, Cybele worship in 13–31; art in 71
Athena 25, 26, 76–7
Athena Polias 31
Athenaeus 33, 118
Athens *pls 18, 19, 54, 56*; Cybele worship in 32–4, 35; Metroon in 34, 36; artifacts in 36, 72–3, 74
Attalus I, II & III 26, 39, 198
Attis *pls 24, 34, 39, 40, 43, 44, 47, 49, 57, 62, 63, 68, 70, 76, 78*; *figs 24, 28, 29*; castration 11, 32, 91–2, 94, 95, 96–7, 142; spread of myth 17, 24, 35, 41, 43, 64–6, 69; monuments in Asia Minor 27, 29, 31; attributes of 37, 47, 93–4, 121; passion plays of 44, 114; as a god, 49–50, 62, 130; in Rome 55, 63; representations of 56, 61–2, 72–5, 114, (winged) 56–7, 67, 123, 130, (dancing) 123, 142; in literature 86–7; in mythology 88–92; festivals of 113–24, 177
Audin, Amable 137–8
Augustus, emperor 25, 41–2, 75, 81, 86, 126, 177–8; obelisk of 52–3; altar of peace 73, 85
Auilinus, Gaius Julius 64
Aurelian 180
Austria (Noricum) 142–3

Bacchus, *see* Dionysus
Ballihisar, *see* Pessinus
Banasa (Morocco), Cybele temple at 130
Barnes, T. D. 107
Bastet, F. L. 56, 120
Battakes, priest 98, 99
Bean, George E. 19
Beaujeu, Jean 179
Bellona (Mâ-Bellona) 10, 100, 101, 141
Berecynthian goddess 85
Bevis Marks, Attis artifacts at 138
Bithynia *pls 13, 14*
Blegen, Carl W. 25
Bloch, R. 43
Boersma, J. S. 34
Boğazköy, *see* Hattusa
Bolsena (Volsinii) 68
Bordeaux (Burdigala) 132, 133; *pls 69, 73*
Bossert, H. T. 19, 23
Bouleuterion 33, 34
Boyancé, P. 119
Brelich, A. 125
Brindisi (Brundisium) 67
Brutus, M. Junius 41
Budapest, Cybele artifacts at 67; *pl. 49*
Bulgaria (Thrace) 141–4
Büyük Aslanta 20
Büyük Kale citadel 20; *pl. 10*
Büyük Kapi Kaya monument 20

Caligula (Gaius) 45, 178
Calza, Guido 61
Campania, Cybele artifacts in 64, 67
Campus Magnae Matris 60–2
cannophori (reed-bearers) 114, 122
Carchemish 18, 24; *pl. 7*
Carcopino, Jerôme 55, 78, 99
Carthage 128–9, 130, 139
Carvoran (Magnis), poem from 138
Casa di Pinario Cereale 66, 94; *pl. 47*
Cassius, Dio 53
Cassius, villa of 63
Çatal Hüyük 15, 16; *pl. 5*; *figs 4, 5*
Catullus 85, 96–7, 110, 118
Celje (Celeia), inscription from 142
Ceres 124–5, 139
Cherchel (Caesarea) 130
Chiusi 52
Christianity 87, 101–3, 106, 109–10, 111, 116, 119, 136, 178, 180–2
Chrysopoedus, epitaph to 57
Cicero 47, 67, 107, 125, 177
Circus Maximus *pl. 37*; Cybele statue in 51–3; representations of 52, 129, 140
Claudia Quinta 41–2, 57, 85; *pl. 30*
Claudia Syntyche 57; *pl. 30*
Claudius, Appius 41
Claudius, emperor 41–3, 53, 55, 86, 96, 134, 178; reforms Attis cult 97–8, 99, 113, 122
Cleisthenes 33
Clement of Alexandria 104, 116–18
coins, Cybele and Attis on 26, 31, 39, 41, 45, 52–3, 74–5, 94, 125, 139, 178, 179; *fig. 28*
Cologne, Cybele worship at 140
Colophon 27, 111
Constantine (Cirta) 129
Constantine, emperor 180
Conze, A. 79
Corbridge (Corstopitum) 138
Córdoba, inscriptions at 131
Corinth 37
Cornutus, Stoic writer 84
Coronius, Gaius Tarranius, inscription of 143
Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque 7
Crescens 51
Crete 10–11, 14–15, 25, 71, 101; *pl. 2*; *figs 1, 2*
criobolium 11, 46, 49, 59–60, 101–6, 118, 131
Croesus, King 88–90
Cumae 49, 64, 74, 107
Cumont, Franz 50, 101
Cybele (Earth Goddess, Mother of Gods, Rhea, etc.) *pls 5, 13, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 29, 46, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 71, 72, 74, 77, 79, 80*; *figs 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 19, 21, 27, 28*;

Cybele—Cont.
cult practices 9–10, 11, 16–17, 24, 96–106, 107–9; names for 10, 21–2, 23, 27, 81, 83; form and symbols of 13–14, 15–16, 17–18, 25–6, 71–2, 81–2; representations of (*see also* plates) 15–20, 27–8, 35, 47–8, 57–9, 71–5; temples (Metroons) of 29–30, 33–6, 45–51, 60–3, 64; and other gods 30, 69, 75, 79–81; in literature 81–7; festivals of 43, 47, 52, 92, 110–25, 177
Cyme 28, 71, 132
Cyzicus 28–9, 31, 94–5, 111; *pl. 15*

Dacia, Cybele artifacts in 144
Dalmatia (Yugoslavia) 142–3
Damascius 121
Danubian Provinces, Cybele artifacts in 141–4
Darius-painter 67; *pl. 50*
Daux, G. 135
Delphi, oracle of 14, 26, 36, 39–40; Cybele frieze at 71; *pls 25, 26*
Demeter 10, 30, 32, 34, 37, 49, 71, 80, 82–3, 139
Derketo 16
De Sanctis, G. 55
Deutsch-Altenburg (Carnuntum) 143
Diana Tifatina, temple of 65
Dibelius, M. 117
Dieterich, A. 117
Diocletian, emperor 104
Diodorus 92, 99, 112
Diogenes 34, 36
Dionysius the Areopagite 121, 123
Dionysus 56, 62; influence on Cybele cult 64, 78, 80, 82, 119, 135
Dionysus-Sabazius 20
Dioscorides 126
Djemila (Cuicul) 129
dodekatheon ('twelve-god' altar) 76; *pls 27, 28*
Domitian 45, 179
Donatianus, Marcus Caecilius 138, 139
Duthoy, R. 103, 106–7, 118

Earth Goddess, Earth Mother, *see* Cybele
Egyptians 10, 48, 126–8, 178, 179; *pl. 71*
Eisler, Robert 22
Eleusinian mysteries 116, 118, 177
Eleusis 36, 48, 68, 71, 80–1, 117
Ephesus 27, 74
Epicurus, Garden of 83
Epidaurus 82, 128
Epigonus, T. Flavius 62
Epiphanius 22
Eretria, Cybele artifacts at 126
Eskişehir 20
Etienne, Robert 132
Etruscans 51–2, 100, 178
Eumenes II 25, 98
Eunuchus (Terence) 125
Euripides 36, 76, 82
Eusebius 136
Eustochius, Flavius Antonius 49
Eutekmios, Sophist 111–12

Falerii, altar from 68
Fasti (Ovid) 84–5, 91, 108
Faustina, empress 45, 75, 180
Festugière, A. J. 117
Firmus, L. Valerius 62
Fishwick, D. 114–15, 122–3
Flaccus, Valerius 120, 121, 122
Foligno, sarcophagus from 52
France, *see* Gaul
Franciscis, A. de 64
Fraser, P. M. 126
Frazer, James 111
Fyrmus, L. Valerius 108

Gaius, *see* Caligula
gallus (galli) 32, 85, 92–100, 111, 124, 126–7, 132, 181; *pl. 65*; statues of 99, 100, 115, 130
Galyub, Attis statue from 127
Ganymede 56, 78, 88, 113, 123; *pl. 40*
Garcia y Bellido, A. 131
Gaul (France) 46, 51, 104, 106; *see also* Lyons
Gemma Augustea 75, 86; *pl. 58*
Germany, Cybele artifacts in 140–1; *pls 75, 76*
'Girl from Andros, The' (*Andria*, by Terence) 125
Glanum (St Rémy) 94, 115; *pl. 63*
Gnathia (Egnatium), Attis at 67
Golden Bough, The (Frazer) 111
Gordion 19, 20, 27
Graillot, Henri 7, 119, 180
Great Britain, Cybele cult in 138–9
Greece, Cybele cult in 32–7, 71–5, 76–8; *see also* Athens
Grozon, inscription at 110

Hacılar 13, 16
Hadrian, emperor 61, 63, 179
Halicarnassus, inscription from 29–30
Hammurabi 17
Hannibal 38, 39, 139, 177
Harpocrates 31, 69, 126
Harpocration 111
Harris, Eve & John 138
Haspels, Emilie 20
Haterii family relief 45
Hattusa (Boğazköy) 17, 20; *pl. 10*
Hecate 35, 80–1; *pls 23, 71*
Helck, Wolfgang 16
Heliogabalus, emperor 107, 180
Helpidaphorus, Quintus Aemilius 64
Hepatu 17; *pl. 6*
Herculaneum 64–6; *pl. 48*
Herculius, Maximianus 53
Hermes 35; *pls 23, 71*
Hermesianax of Colophon 111
Hermogenes, sarcophagus of 77–8; *pl. 61*
Herodian 120, 122
Herodotus 28–9, 88–9, 111
Hesychius 22–3
Hilaria, feast 92, 113, 116, 119, 120–3
Hilarus, Manius Publicius 43–4; *pl. 35*
Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome 86, 94, 110, 182
Hippomenes 84
Hirschfeld, G. 30
Histria, reliefs from 144
Hittites 17–18, 19
Homer 13, 50, 56
Homeric Hymns 9, 11, 36, 82
Horace 53
Horus (Harpokrates) 126
Hungary, Cybele cult in 143–4
Hyacinth Monument 20
hypogaeum at Porta Maggiore (so-called Pythagorean Basilica) 55–6, 78, 113, 123, 177–8; *pls 39, 40*; *figs 15, 16*

Iconium, *see* Çatal Hüyük
Ida, Mount 25, 39, 57, 81, 128
Ilium, *see* Troy
Isis, goddess 10, 37, 48, 62, 66, 81, 101, 116, 126–8, 135
Iustinus, Cnaeus Pompeius 142

Julian, emperor 32, 86–7, 95, 97, 114–15, 121, 123, 180
Julius Caesar, C. 25, 42, 177
Jupiter 40, 47

Klis, altar at 142–3
Körte, A. 19
Kotiane 28
Kubaba-Cybele 21–4; *pl. 7*; *figs 10, 11*; *see also* Cybele
Kula, relief from 30–1; *pl. 16*
Kültepe 13; Kültepe-Kanis, cuneiform from 24

Laberia Felicla, priestess 57, 109; *pl. 41*
Laevinus, M. Valerius 39
Laroche, E. 16, 18, 24
Lambrechts, Pieter 56, 98, 113, 119, 121, 123
Lampridius, Aelius 107
Langlotz, E. 132
Laurentina, Porta 62, 103; *pl. 45*
lavatio 113, 119–22

Lebadea, reliefs from 36, 80–1; *pl. 27*
Lectoure, inscriptions at 106, 107, 135; *pl. 69*
Lemuria, festival 47
Leontius 51
Lepcis Magna 129, 139
Ligorio, Pirro *pl. 36*
Lion, symbol of Cybele 14–15, 18, 43, 84; *pls 1, 3, 4, 25, 26, 74*
literature, Cybele in 81–7
Livia, empress 53, 75, 86, 177–8
Livy 38–40, 41, 124
Lobrine 28, 111
Locri 34, 67
Locri Epizefiri, inscription from 23; *fig. 12*
Longinus, Titus Flavius 144
Lucania 67
Lucretius 33, 83–4, 85, 110
Lusitania, Cybele cult in 130–1
Lydos, Johannes Laurentius 22, 113, 114
Lyons (Lugdunum) 61, 104, 106, 131, 134–7, 141; *figs 31, 32*

Macrobius 95, 116, 121, 123, 181
Maeonia, inscription from 30
Mainz (Mogontiacum) 140
Mainz-Kastell 46, 135, 140–1
Mainz-Oberolm 141
Malatya 18
Mamurt-Kaleh, Mt 26
Mandros 28
Manlianus, Alfius 140
Mansuelli, Guido 69
Marcellinus, Ammianus 121
March festivals 113–24
Marcianopolis, Cybele cult at 144
Marcus Aurelius 35, 76
Marius 99
Marseilles (Massilia) 34, 68, 132–3
Marsyas 19, 56, 77–8
Martial, poet 96
Mary, Virgin 182
Mater, Dindymene 28
Maternus, Firmicus 103, 116–17, 119–20, 123
Mauretania, Cybele cult in 128, 130
Maximus, M. Modius 96, 114; *pl. 64*
Maximus, Valerius 42
Mecca, Ka 'aba at 22
Megalensia, festival 43, 47, 52, 85, 96, 124–5
Melitine, priestess 35
Mellaart, James 15–16
Memphis, Cybele cult at 69
Mensibus, de (Lydos) 113
Merida, inscription from 131
Metamorphoses (Apuleius) 10
Metamorphoses (Ovid) 84–5
Metellus, M. Caecilius 39
Meter Steunene, sanctuary of 30
Metilia Acte 63
Metragyrtes (Photius) 32
Metroons (Cybele temples), *see* names of locations
Michon, Etienne 35
Midas, King 19, 20, 112; Midas City 20; *pl. 8*
Milan, Cybele cult at 69
Miletus, Cybele artifacts at 31, 71
Mithras cult 47–8, 49, 51, 62, 64–5, 69, 73, 94, 101, 108, 112, 114, 117–18, 134, 143, 179–80
Montanists sect 182
Moon-god Men 27
'Mother-in-Law, The' (*Hecyra*, by Terence) 125
Mother of Gods, *see* Cybele
Mué (Andetrium) 142; *pl. 78*
Mursilis I 17
music 29, 77, 110, 118–19
Mycenae 14, 37; *pl. 3*; *fig. 3*
mythology, Cybele and Attis in 11, 56, 76–8, 88–92

Naassenes 182
naiskos-group 79
Naples, sarcophagus at 77
Narbonne, inscriptions at 132
Nasica, P. Cornelius 40–1
Neanthes of Cyzicus 111
Neoplatonists 86, 95, 121–3, 180–2
Neopythagoreans 55, 78
Nero 45, 178–9
Nero, C. Claudius 41
Neuss (Novaesium) 141; *pl. 75*
Nicander of Colophon 111
Nijmegen, Cybele cult at 140
Niobe 18–19
Numidia, Cybele cult in 128–30
Numidicus, Q. Caecilius Metellus 42

Odessus, Cybele cult at 144
Odysseus and *Odyssey* 25, 39, 50, 56, 78
Ohlemutz, E. 26
'On the Martyr's Crown' (Prudentius) 102
'On the Nature of Things' (*De Rerum Natura*, by Lucretius) 83
Orestes, Cn. Aufidius 97
Orfitus, L. Cornelius Scipio 59–60; *pl. 42*
Ostia *43, pls 44, 45, 64, 66*; *figs 23, 24*; Cybele artifacts at 46, 60–3, 76, 85, 100, 103, 135, 141; Attis artifacts at 94, 114, 115
Ovid 39–40, 84, 92, 108, 114, 124, 139

Palatine Hill, Cybele temple on 41–3, 60, 61, 86, 96, 104, 113, 114, 123, 177; *pls 31, 32, 33, 34*; *fig. 14*; theatre on 124–5, 134
Pan figures 62, 80, 83; *pl. 43*
Panajir Dagh 27
Pannonia Inferior and Superior 142–3
Parabiago, silver dish of 69, 72; *pl. 53*
Paros, Isle of, relief on 80
Pausanias 19, 33, 36, 83, 111
Pax Julia (Beja), inscription from 131
Pergamum 10, 11, 24–6, 39, 67, 102; *pls 10, 11*
Périgueux (Vesunna), inscription at 115, 133; *pl. 70*
Persephone 10, 68, 112
Pessinus (Ballihisar) 19, 21–2, 24, 25, 26, 39–41, 86, 91–2, 98, 112
Phidias 33, 72
Philemon, priest 35
Philhetairos, King 26
Philippeville (Rusicade) 129
Philocalus, Furius Dionysus, calendar of 113, 121
Phormio (Terence) 125
Photius, Bishop 32, 34
Phrygians 20, 24, 27, 88; gods of 10, 15, 33, 50
Phrygianum in Rome 45–51, 141; *fig. 22*
Picard, Charles 21, 34, 59, 72, 94, 110, 115, 128, 130, 132, 134
Pindar 36, 83
Piraeus 35, 112; *pls 21, 22, 23, 24*
Plakiane 28
Plancus, L. Munatius 134
Plato 82; reliefs in Academy of 35
Plautus 125
Pliny 33
Plutarch 32, 99
Pompeii 64–6, 94, 108, 110, 124; *pls 46, 47*; *fig. 25*
Pompeius, A. 99
Porta Maggiore Basilica, *see hypogaeum*
Portugal, Cybele artifacts in 130
Poseidonios 30
Potheinos, Bishop 136
Praetextatus, Vettius Agorius 109–10
Priene, Metroon at 31
priests and priestesses 11, 94–7, 98–101, 104–11; *pl. 22*; *see also* gallus, archigallus
Proconsularis, Cybele artifacts in 128
Propertius 110
Proserpina 49, 76, 118
Proud, R. S. 37
Prudentius 49, 101–3, 104
Ptolemy I 126
Punic religion 128
Puteoli (Pozzuoli), inscription at 49, 64, 102
Pythagorean Basilica, *see hypogaeum*

Pythian Odes 36

quindecimviri 47–8, 51, 64, 107, 109, 124

Radomir, relief at 144
Ramsay, Sir William 20
Refutationes (Hippolytus) 182
Rhea 32–3, 111; *see also* Cybele 9, 49, 71
Rhegium (Reggio), Cybele artifacts at 67
Rhyzonia (Prinias), temple at 71; *pl. 2*; *fig. 26*
Romanelli, P. 41, 43, 114
Rome 9, 95; Cybele arrives at 11, 24–5, 38–9, 64; Cybele worship in 38–60, 75, 101, 110; religious festivals in, 84, 113–23, 177–82
Rose, H. J. 50
Rumania (Moesia Inferior and Dacia) 141–4

Saalburg, Metroon at 140
Sabina, poetess 50, 119
St Augustine 181
Saint-Médard d'Eyran, sarcophagi from 76–7; *pl. 60*
St Paul's Outside the Walls 57
St Rémy (Glanum) 133–4, *pl. 63*
Salinator, C. Livius 25
Salinator, M. Livius 41
Sallustius 95, 121
Salona (Solin) 142–3
San Lorenzo, Cybele artifacts at 109, 124
Sangaritis, nymph 91, 92, 94, 128
Sappho 56, 78
Sarapias, priestess 48, 49, 118
Sardis 21, 23, 27, 30
Sarsina, Attis artifacts at 68
Schefold, K. 68
Schliemann, Heinrich 25
Schmidt, Ernst 38
Schwertheim, E. 140
Scipio, L. 25
Scipio, P. Cornelius 40
Secundus, Sammius, priest 135
'Self-tormentor, The' (Terence) 125
Semiramis 16
Seneca 134
Septimius Severus, emperor 139, 180
Serapis, altar to 59, 135, 179
Servandus 140
Servianus, Lucius Iulius Ursus 102
Setif (Sitifis) 129
Sfameni-Gasparro, Giulia 68
Sicca Veneria (El Kef) 129
Sicily 53, 67–8; *pls 37, 51, 52*
Sidon, sarcophagus from 77–8; *pl. 61*
Sille, stele from 31
Sipylus Mountains 18–16
Siscia (Sisak) 142
'Sly-boots' (*Pseudolus*, by Plautus) 125
Smyrna (Izmir) 31, 36, 74; *pl. 17*
Sofia, reliefs at 114
Sol Invictus cult 180
Sophocles 81
Sorrento, marble base at 81, 76; *pls 50, 59*
Soterides Gallos, inscription of 29
Spain, Cybele worship in 104, 130–1
Sparta, reliefs at 37
Stephan of Byzantium 19–20
Stilicho 43
Stilpon 34
Stoa 50, 83
Suetonius 119, 122
Sulla, Cornelius 25
Switzerland (Raetia) 142; *pl. 4*
Symmachus 109, 180

Tacitus 68
Tarquinia 52
Tarragona, monument near 131
Tas Suret, sculpture 19
taurobolium 11, 46, 49, 50, 59–60, 101–6, 108, 113, 115, 118, 129–30, 131, 132, 134, 141, 179, 180; *pls 45, 69*; *figs 18, 30*
Telephos 66; *pl. 48*
Telesilla, poetess 36
Tell Açana-Alalach 24
Terence 125
Termessus, sarcophagi from 28
Thalamas, Publicius Fortunatus 131
Thasos, relief from 36, 80; *pl. 28*
Thebes, relief from *pl. 1*
Theodosius 43, 180
Thompson, Homer A. 32, 33, 34
Tiberius, emperor 178
Tifesch (Tipasa) 130
Timgad (Thamugadi) 130
Tiridates of Armenia 179
Trajan, emperor 52, 53, 102, 142, 144, 179
Trier, Cybele worship at 140–1; *pl. 76*
Trieste, Cybele artifacts at 69
Tristia, festival 92, 113
Trojans 11, 24–5, 81, 177
Troy 14, 19, 24–5, 39–40, 84–5, 102, 139
Turcan, Robert 107, 109, 132, 134
'twelve-god' altar, *see dodekatheon*

Ugarit-Ras Shamra, document from 24
Underworld 9–10, 56, 63, 76, 116, 118, 119
Utica, Cybele temple at 129, 139

Van Doren, E. 58
Vaphio, gold cup from 101
Varro 26, 127
Verecundus, M. Vecilius, house of 66, 108–9
Vergil 25, 40, 84–5, 86, 125
Verona, Cybele artifacts at 69
Verres 107
Verulamium 135
Vespasian, emperor 64, 66, 129, 179
Vestal Virgins 43, 81
Vesuvius, Mt 64
Victoria, temple and statue of 41, 109
Vienne, reliefs from 109, 134, 136
vires (genitals) 104–7
Vorbeck, Eduard 143

Welles, C. Bradford 98
Wright, R. P. 138

Xenophanes 10, 82

Yazilikaya 18, 20, 24; *pl. 6*; *fig. 8*
Young, Rodney S. 20
Yugoslavia (Dalmatia) 142–3

Zeus 9, 25, 27, 56, 71, 88–9, 90, 101, 135
Zeus Meilichios 34
Zosimus 43